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# Daily Report

## Supplement

# Soviet Union

***Congress of People's Deputies***
***Stenographic Record***

FBIS-SOV-89-154-S
Friday
11 August 1989

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## SUPPLEMENT
### Congress of People's Deputies
### Stenographic Record

*FBIS-SOV-89-154-S* *11 August 1989*

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**NOTICE TO READERS**: The Daily Report is publishing the full translation of IZVESTIYA's "stenographic record" of the Congress of People's Deputies. Additional supplements will be issued as translated material becomes available.

**STENOGRAPHIC RECORD**

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## 7 Jun Morning Joint Supreme Soviet Session

*18300699 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
*9 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4-8*

["First Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet: Joint Sitting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. Stenographic Record."—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text]

**First Sitting.**

7 June 1989. Supreme Soviet Hall of Sessions in the Kremlin. 1000.

Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is presiding.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Good day, comrades. Comrades, first—information. Of the 271 deputies who make up the Soviet of the Union, 262 have registered. Of the 271 deputies who make up the Soviet of Nationalities, 247 have registered. Thus, since we have all the grounds for starting work. Allow me to declare the first joint sitting of both houses of the Supreme Soviet open and, thus, to greet the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet in their full complement with the start of its regular work.

A statement has arrived from the USSR Council of Ministers for the consideration of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I shall read it aloud.

"In conformity with Article 129 of the USSR Constitution, the USSR Council of Ministers considers its own obligations at an end and yields its own authority to the newly elected USSR Supreme Soviet. The USSR Council of Ministers requests that the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics be informed of this statement. N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. 7 June 1989."

Here, in my opinion, everything is clear. I move that the information of the USSR Council of Ministers' statement concerning the yielding of its own authority to the USSR Supreme Soviet be accepted. If there are no questions?

**From the floor**: No.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I ask those in favor of adopting such a resolution to raise their cards. Lower them, please. Those opposed? No one. Those abstaining? Passed.

With regard to the nomination for the appointment of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in accordance with the constitution, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet submits a proposal on this matter.

Taking into account the actual position which the CPSU occupies in our society as the ruling party, consultations took place with the party's Central Committee with respect to the nomination for the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers. The CPSU Central Committee discussed this matter and supported the proposal which was presented by me for agreement and consultations and expressed its own opinion, which has been published.

Guided by my own deep conviction and by the opinion of the party's Central Committee, which, I hope, also reflects the opinion of our people and our deputies, I move that Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov be appointed chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

I want to say a few words. Although I have already spoken on this matter to the deputies, in particular at the sitting of the party group, still, nevertheless, today, the matter is on our agenda and we should resolve it. I want to add a few words to what I have already said in order to present arguments in favor of the proposal I have submitted for your consideration.

This proposal is based on several principle considerations which I consider necessary to report on here.

First, by his own political, business-like, humane, and moral qualities, Comrade Ryzhkov is worthy of being reappointed chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. This is the first thing.

Second, in Comrade Ryzhkov we have a person, a Communist, and a statesman, who, at this critical stage of the development of our society, when we in the party and in society as a whole have arrived at the necessity of the implementation of restructuring and the renewal of socialist society, is devoted in principle to this course, stands on firm positions of principle and is a staunch supporter of the policy of restructuring and the renewal of our society. Everything that has been done over these years to unleash these processes, to a significant degree, is associated with his personal contribution.

Of great importance here, apparently, is that Comrade Ryzhkov is a good representation of the situation in the country, inasmuch as all his preceding life makes it possible to see, as it were, in a cross-section, everything which has accumulated and what kind of condition the country is in. For a significant part of his own life he was associated directly with the work of industry—at first, in routine work and, later, as a chief engineer for 5 years and the general manager for 5 years of Uralmash [the Ural Heavy Machine Building Plant]. Then worked in the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, he was the first deputy chairman of USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] for 4 years, and he worked in the CPSU Central Committee.

So, he had an opportunity to accumulate experience and, apparently, to build up his own understanding and his own reflections with respect to the processes occurring in our society. The result, apparently, of all this also was his ardent desire to participate in working out the ways for the realization of the policy of restructuring. Therefore, in the person of Comrade Ryzhkov, we have, first of all—and this is the most important thing; I want to emphasize this—a person devoted to the course toward restructuring.

Our restructuring will not work if the processes of democracy do not expand in it, systematically encompassing all spheres of our society's life. In the person of Comrade Ryzhkov we have a democratic leader. And, regarding everything that has been done in this plan and from the point of view of the development of democracy and glasnost on the whole in society, as well as from the point of view of the expansion of the political process and political reform, I can say unambiguously that Nikolay Ivanovich shares the same approaches in principle.

This has left its own impression on the elaboration of the documents relating to the economic system. If you will notice, then, the main thing—I would say, the core of the proposals and documents relating to the sphere of the economic system—is still democratization. It is evident even in the fact that we have begun, on the initiative of the USSR Council of Ministers, the drafting of a law concerning the main unit of our economic system—the enterprise. This is important in and of itself. Until now, as a rule, these reforms were begun from the top, with some steps at the upper echelons, and while all this went down to the enterprises, they frequently had already lost their energy and were emasculated and, thus, the outcome for many reforms was, as it were, already laid out beforehand in the very approaches. They were begun and rightfully so....

But this is not the only point. Comrade Ryzhkov's democratic nature is also evident in his active support for the decentralization of the economy with the natural preservation of the key positions for the center in order to harmonize our relations within the union and in our complicated economic complex. This is felt and known in the republics. Already, many documents about this have been drafted and are now being prepared. With regard to the republics and their independence and filling sovereignty with real substance and with regard to the activities of the local soviets, the preparations for dealing with these matters is proceeding with Comrade Ryzhkov's active participation. This is also a very important problem, and without its solution there can be no talk about any kind of power for the soviets. Nikolay Ivanovich not only shares such an approach but is also heading up the work on the preparation of the documents regarding this matter.

I think it may be said that Comrade Ryzhkov's democratic nature has also been displayed in the fact that he was an active supporter of the development of the new approaches to the organization of life through the new forms of the economic system and of socialist property. This has also been displayed in the cooperative movement and in the important decision with respect to leasing and so on.

It also seems to me, even with the fact that the present 5-year plan still bears to a significant degree the imprint of the stagnation years, inasmuch as we were still just trying to understand our economic system and, on the basis of this understanding, then to come to new solutions and approaches, even during the working out of this 5-year plan, which, I repeat, bears the weight of the past and, to a significant degree, also binds the reform processes and, still, the foundation of an important idea was laid—the idea of the reorientation of our economic system in favor of the people and its turning toward a social policy. This is also the position of the Council of Ministers and its chairman.

In thus characterizing Comrade Ryzhkov, and along with this I want to say, and I have already stated this in the report as well, that, of course, by far not everything has been done as it was planned and, moreover, serious errors have been committed. But, it seems to me, even this makes it possible to state that, for all of us and for the government primarily, this is an occasion for serious lessons as well, in order that, in the future, such approaches and such solutions will be prepared, which would remove the accumulated problems right in the course of restructuring, eliminate the errors and lead our economic system to the road of development.

Comrade Ryzhkov is a self-critical person and has a party attitude toward the results of the government's activities. It seems to me that now it is important that the trust placed in him by the Central Committee be reinforced by the trust of the Supreme Soviet and that he be appointed chairman of the Council of Ministers and, thereby, be given the opportunity to develop further the plans he has of his own for correcting the derelictions and to learn the lessons from the past.

This is what I wanted to say in presenting to you for appointment to the position of chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. Nikolay Ivanovich is here, and we can proceed further in this manner: Questions can be put to him and an exchange of opinions on the nomination can be started. Are there any questions for Comrade Ryzhkov?

Nikolay Ivanovich, please. We already have a tradition established here in this hall that whomever we recommend, we invite to this rostrum. Please, comrades, what kinds of questions do you have for him? Please.

**From the floor**: Esteemed chairman, you said that the former Council of Ministers committed very serious errors. What kinds of errors are we talking about more specifically? Nikolay Ivanovich, be so kind as to respond.

**N.I. Ryzhkov**, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Moscow (from the CPSU): I believe that, in the principle strategic plan, the Council of Ministers, in putting into practice the economic strategy of our country, which was worked out at the 27th party congress and the 19th party conference, did not commit errors. With regard to the individual attitudes which developed this strategy, then, in our opinion, in evaluating the path traversed today, we actually committed certain errors which had a negative effect on the development of the national economy and on certain processes which intensified the social tension in our society.

If we talk about the principle errors, it is possible to dwell on the following. In 1987, we adopted the Law on the State Enterprise, a law which, in our opinion, is a progressive one. The preparations for it began in 1986, were confirmed at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum and then at the 1987 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I believe that it is progressive and has not lost its own timeliness even today, although, in my opinion, which coincides with opinion of a number of deputies, we quite likely need to revise this law to some extent. Inasmuch as certain imperfections and the misinterpretation of certain processes have been committed in it. I think it was necessary, in parallel with the Law on the State Enterprise, no matter how difficult, right away to create, develop and approve laws on taxation and the regulation of incomes, which would ensure a progressive trend in the incomes of the labor collectives.

In considering the fact that these matters turned out to be incomplete, in 1988, we had, if it can be said so, an explosion of personal incomes, for which the government was unable to compensate by the production of consumer goods and services. As a result, in 1988 and the beginning of 1989, there arose very strong social tension and an imbalance in the consumer market.

I think that, with all the progressiveness in the Law on the Cooperative System (and it is more progressive and democratic because it was adopted a year after the Law on the State Enterprise) also, obviously, certain positions have not been completely worked out, and these are currently causing the populace's sharp reaction in relation to the cooperative movement. If we had worked out more thoroughly certain matters regarding the regulation of these processes, I think that there would not be such a situation in the cooperative movement today. I think that one of the deficiencies, if we are speaking on the large scale, was the fact that, in deciding individual vital matters, such as the ones regarding the state enterprise, the development of the cooperative movement and leasing, all the same, we obviously, because of the lack of thorough theoretical research and a clearly drawn up concept, did not, in a timely manner, supply and outline the final goal of our economic reforms. And, therefore, the partial solutions, in the end, sometimes contradicted themselves and created specific difficulties in the national economy. For example, at the present time, there are four management models: The first and second models pertain to state enterprises, the third to the cooperative movement, and the fourth to leasing.

It is perfectly clear that, at first, we had to present more clearly the entire gamut of these models and to reduce them, obviously, to some kind of uniform law, about which today, by the way, comrades, in my opinion, questions are being raised quite correctly, in order, once we have a complete idea, that individual elements can then be changed. I think this is one of the principle questions.

It is also possible to talk about individual, particular and local problems, which have stopped us from moving forward. Take the questions concerning capital construction, which were mentioned quite sharply in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report, and even in the speeches of the people's deputies: This matter was not avoided. We are getting away from the administrative methods and you know that, previously, absolutely everything was recorded in the center, right down to the individual shed. Everything was previously recorded in the plans: when to build, how to build and so on. We believed that this was incorrect and that, in general, this violated all the principles of the independence of the republics and the enterprises and so on. Therefore, we started the democratization of this process and transferred the lion's share of such questions, or at least half, to the union republics. The second half remained the prerogative of the center, which it held in its own hands. This is the construction of the largest projects. I think the economic mechanism and the entire system in capital construction brought us to the point that, along with the fact that certain positive phenomena appeared, we nevertheless did not solve chiefly the problem of investments and capital construction in our country. Therefore, whereas positive results appeared in the first 2 years of restructuring, over the ensuing 2 years, conversely, they worsened again and, today, it is perfectly evident that the economic mechanism for capital construction had not been perfected by us as had been assumed.

I think that, even in the rural areas, we did not do everything as it needed to be done. I am not talking today about material resources, and I am not talking about the fact that there is shortage of capital investments and resources for solving social questions, about which the question was raised so sharply at the congress and in the appeal given by our agrarians. I should say that I support this appeal. But the economic mechanism established 3 years ago, although it did solve some questions, on the whole it did not make it possible for us to increase productivity sharply in agriculture or to improve the food supply for our population—that is, we obviously did not find here real approaches. We think that the March CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which took place not long ago, laid a very serious foundation for our activities and I think that, when the congress is over, it will be necessary to think everything out and put everything in its proper place. I think we need to study the

decisions of the March CPSU Central Committee Plenum very seriously locally and draw the corresponding conclusions. I could also dwell on other questions. But there are objective difficulties. It is possible, of course, to criticize the government, however, it is necessary to consider also the objective reasons. A very complicated situation has developed with our budget and it is unbalanced. But, to a large extent, it is explained, of course, by how the budget for the national economy was put together previously and by how it is done today. I have already stated that, if we had put the state budget, say for 1989, together using the old methods, then we would have balanced it absolutely. But this is not the path and not the direction which are stipulated by economic reform. If we pursued this path, we would undermine and chop up all the roots of the economic reform. We were compelled to proceed, knowing the country's difficult financial situation, to the solution of certain social questions. Did we do this correctly or not? I believe that, despite all the difficulties, we did it correctly. Because these problems were so acute that merely walking away from them, even with such a financial situation, was impossible. Naturally, this aggravated the situation, but, in my opinion, there was an objective necessity in this which was impossible not to take into consideration. These are the shortcomings in the large-scale plan which, in my opinion, were in the work of the government in past years.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please, comrades.

**A.T. Dzhanasbayev**, brigade leader of the drillers from the Akzhal Mine of the Kazvolfram Production Association, Dzhezkazgan Oblast (the Dzhezkazganskiy Territorial Electoral District, Dzhezkazgan Oblast, Kazakh SSR): Nikolay Ivanovich, what do you think: Will the state of the country's economic system improve over the course of the year? As the future chairman, what measures are you thinking of undertaking in order to do this?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: I think it is necessary to look at things realistically. I can not promise that, over the course of the year, basic changes will occur in the country's economic system. This would be precipitous and a deception. I think that, with regard to the consumer market, it may be expected that, over the course of the coming year, we will make a specific turn—that is, certain economic indices will be improved. But, in order to solve all the problems which exist today in the country (and we have already discussed them with you for many days at the congress and, indeed, even the simple list tells of their enormous number), time is required. But we must go forward and eliminate these problems in the country step by step.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**K.D.P. Prunskene**, rector of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers' Intitute for the Enhancement of the Skills of Economic Specialists, Vilnius (the Shyaulyayskiy Territorial Electoral District, Lithuanian SSR): I have two questions for you, Nikolay Ivanovich. First. You have repeatedly stated that Lithuania is dependent. Do you believe that this is so even today, considering the shortcomings in pricing, subsidies, the tax system and the economic mechanism as a whole?

Second. There were 109 deputies who signed the draft of the Law on the Economic Independence of the Union Republics, which, as a draft, was presented to the congress. If you have familiarized yourself with this draft, then how do you evaluate it and the prospects for its adoption? Thank you.

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: I will answer the first question. I have never used the word "dependent." You can check: such a word has never been in any of my official speeches. There was and is economic accounting and it can be submitted to the people's deputies. In fact, in order to create an objective picture of what is occurring in our republics, in all 15 republics, such economic accounting was done. A determination was made of, as they say, the imports into a republic, or more precisely, all possible products, goods, raw and other materials and so on, and of the exports from this republic. Such economic accounting exists. It shows that, in this instance, Lithuania imports more than it exports. We asked that the economic accounting be done in world prices, because I agree with the fact that the current prices do not produce an objective picture, in general, the entire objective picture in our country. This is a large question and here I could talk an awful lot about it. We took and made the accounting according to world prices, and not only with respect to Lithuania, but to each republic, what it exports and imports precisely according to world prices. And a quite interesting picture takes shape also. Therefore, it is necessary to look at things realistically and there is nothing offensive here. This is how the structure of the national economy took shape. Therefore, we should take steps in the future.

Just as well, for example, Kazakhstan will say that it, being a large republic, which produces raw materials (and we have low prices for raw materials) is always, conditionally speaking, operating at a loss. This is the first part. This is the objective picture.

I never intended to talk about someone feeding someone else and so on. We live in a united economic complex and we should clearly represent those economic processes which are occurring in this complex and draw the conclusions for the long run.

The second question is about territorial cost accounting. I will dwell in a little more detail on this, considering that it disturbs many people. For 2 years, we searched for and formed the principles of our economic reform. Then, when preparations for going over to territorial cost accounting were being made and when the preparations for the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum (1987) were under way. This plenum, and then the Supreme Soviet session which adopted the Law on the State

Enterprise, in essence, summed up the results of the 2 years of theoretical research. By June of 1987, the principles of our economic reform had been formed. I should say that there were very prolonged disputes. For example, at a meeting of the Politburo, the discussion of one question, say, on the economic reform, went on for 7 or 8 hours on end. And, of course, these were pointed conversations, but based on principle, a search for new paths was conducted. And so it was everywhere.

But even at that time, when the concept of the economic reform was formed, we were thoroughly convinced that, to limit the reform only to the first link (and this is our foundation)—that is, to carry it out only at the enterprise and association level and thereby change everything in our country, would be insufficient. Naturally, the question arose: Along with the fact that we are following this path, we also absolutely need to carry out very large economic changes in the republics and in regions of the country. If we take up today the documents of the June plenum, and there was a whole packet of decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, then it is precisely this theme which shows up there. It has been said that it is necessary to work out and introduce regional cost accounting. Even then, I was thoroughly convinced and state firmly today that, without regional cost accounting, the economic reform will not proceed further and will be a half-way measure and it can not remain only at the enterprise level. Otherwise, everything will stay where it is and, again, we will have the same economic system which has operated over the course of decades.

In November of last year, when we saw that the process associated with the development of regional cost accounting was going forward, that the Baltic Republics were preparing their own model and other republics their own and the central economic departments also were not sitting around and were preparing their own specific model for cost accounting according to territories, we gathered together the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers and the Gosplan chairmen of all 15 union republics and spent an entire day in discussions about how we should set up the cost accounting. At that time, we had not written a single line, the sheet was blank and we asked everyone to state how they viewed the cost accounting. There was a very good exchange of opinions and a special commission was set up, a brigade, if it can be so stated, made up of 17 people—the 15 Gosplan chairmen of the union republics—and headed up by Comrade Maslyukov and his first deputy, Comrade Sitaryan. They were instructed to work out the necessary proposals on a democratic basis. They themselves said that, for the first time in decades, they intended to work together on each and every problem.

At the beginning of the year, in January, this work was concluded. We believed that the basic principles had been formulated correctly, the question was examined by the Politburo and the Supreme Soviet and resolutions were adopted that the basic principles be published in the press. After this, a little while later, we actually received form Estonia and Lithuania documents which differed from those principles which were put in the press.

What can I say? This, of course, requires special analysis and, I think, there will be such an opportunity. And we talked here recently with the chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, Comrade Toome. Obviously, it is necessary to sit at the table once again and very carefully weigh all the pluses and minuses. If we talk today about such a large matter in the principle plan, I believe: in those proposals, which have been put forth, published and discussed in the supreme soviets of the republics, there are many constructive elements. They can be adopted and this needs to be worked out carefully. And, obviously, they can become part of the cost accounting system. This is the first thing.

At the same time, there are, in my opinion, a number of questions which, if adopted as formulated there, will not be advantageous for these republics. Our policy is one of integrated processes. There, certain positions do not follow the policy of integration, but rather, the opposite. And this, I think, considering the enormous connections of the national economic complex, can not be underestimated. Their adoption will lead to a possible aggravation of the situation. There are even more proposals which would be difficult to incorporate today into our federated state. Therefore, this is how I would divide up what has been presented in the documents from Lithuania and Estonia: there are positive points there and constructive proposals, but there are also ones which contradict the constitution and sometimes contradict the fact that we are to live in a united national economic complex, in a new understanding of it. This is how I would respond.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I will yield the floor in sequence. I will finish and return to you.

**From the floor**: I have something more on this question....

**M.S. Gorbachev**: That is alright, wait just a bit. Comrade Safiyeva, please.

**G. Safiyeva**, poetess, chairman of the Tajik Republic Section of the Soviet Cultural Fund, Dushanbe (From the Soviet Cultural Fund): I have a question for Nikolay Ivanovich. I am not an economist and I understand such matters poorly, but I think that, in the economic situation in which our country now finds itself, not least important is our mania for gigantic projects. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed his own negative attitude toward this mania is his speech in Krasnoyarsk, particularly with regard to the construction of power plants. And it surprises us that the head of state condemns this mania, yet, the government is allocating fantastic amounts of resources for the construction of these projects. An example of this arrogant mania for

gigantic projects is the Rogunskaya GES [Hydroelectric Power Plant], which is being built in Tajikistan. I would like to know your attitude regarding our errors in this mania in the past and your attitude toward this mania in the construction of power plants in the future. If we go on living like this, what will this mania lead to? Your attitude about the Rogunskaya GES.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please, Nikolay Ivanovich.

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: Well, first, in the principle plan, my attitude toward this mania: I am against it. I believe that, especially in the processing industry, we can not go to large-scale enterprises, rather, we need to go to medium- and small-scale enterprises. They, as a rule, are more flexible and they adjust quicker to the needs of the national economy and the consumer market. With regard to the questions of the power industry, I should say, comrades, that this question is special and requires a special examination. The day before yesterday, I expressed my own views during the meeting of the drafting committee and now I want to say that we need, obviously, to discuss properly all the same the question of the development of our country's power industry. The question is of a principle nature. The fact is that the power industry will determine how the national economy will develop in the long run and how the standard of living will be enhanced. Therefore, today, a very, I would say, tense situation has formed around the power industry. Much has been said against atomic power and you heard this at the congress. I should say that construction is being curtailed at many plants now. If we talk about nuclear plants, during this 5-year plan, we had intended to build nuclear plants with an installed capacity of 40 million kilowatts. Now, after Chernobyl, we have adjusted the plan and there will be only 30 million kilowatts, but I think that there will not be 30 million—there will be much less.

With regard to hydroelectric plants: It is my opinion that this is an ecologically clean form of power generation. We are using 20 percent of the theoretical opportunities for the use of hydroelectric power. The United States uses 44 percent and Switzerland 65 percent. I may be mistaken in some of the percentages—I am saying all this from memory—and, therefore, we need to draw specific conclusions from those errors which we committed at one time regarding hydroelectric plants when we were building flatland plants, when we actually disturbed the ecology and when we inflicted harm on nature. We should draw conclusions from this.

But for us to stop the construction of hydroelectric plants, I think, is incorrect. The government's opinion is this: In all probability, it is necessary after the congress, and such documents have been prepared, once again to examine and introduce changes in the power generation program which has been confirmed and which is in operation today. The power industry is a very inertial sector of the national economy. We need to introduce specific changes in the plans and have the Supreme Soviet examine the questions of the development of the power industry for the long run, for 10-15 years. And, I think, this question needs to be submitted for nationwide discussion and the people should say how we are to live further. This is my opinion.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please

**From the floor**: The country's economic situation is extremely complicated and continues to become more complicated. This is not only a consequence of the past. In my opinion, the true path has still not been found for the emergence everywhere of a manager that is, a leader who is more responsible and interested. Thus, my first question: What is your concept of the further development of the economic system, how is a genuine manager to be raised?

The second question: What is your opinion of the decentralization of the management of the economic system, and does this not contradict the process of integration?

And the third question: Do you consider feasible the experiment in the Baltic Republics, which gives them complete economic independence—that sovereignty which is mentioned in the constitution? Thank you.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: So, the next hour is taken up.

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: The first question: What role do I see in the future for the manager of an enterprise? I look at it from the point of view that we should gradually change our own attitude toward the forms of property. I believe that, to the maximum degree, we need to get away from the first management model and, to the maximum degree, shift to leasing to produce an opportunity for binding closer the results of a person's labor with the end results of the enterprise's operation. But, doing this requires the working out of a great number of positions and, primarily, the questions of taxation or, I would even say, the regulation by means of taxes of all the relations of reproduction, incomes, wages and so on. I see good prospects in the turn precisely to this direction. In order to implement this, perhaps, we will have to revise certain clauses of the existing laws.

With regard to decentralization: I am a supporter. I believe that gradually the number of ministries, particularly industrial ones, will be reduced in the country according to how the economic conditions in the primary unit mature—that is, at the level of the enterprises, associations, collective farms [kolkhozes], state farms [sovkhozes] and so on. With the establishment in this unit of economic conditions which will make it possible to operate without an ukase from above and without coordination from above, in my opinion, it will be necessary to have fewer and fewer ministries in our country. Of course, specific ministries will remain, every country has them. But the number of purely industrial ones needs, I think, to be reduced gradually. It is my

opinion that the management processes resemble communicating vessels: gradually decreasing management "from above" and, at the same time, it is necessary to develop those processes which initiate decisions "at the bottom." This is the policy to which I am devoted.

And the third: This is the republics' cost accounting. The government's opinion, and I feel this is also the opinion of the people's deputies, is that all the republics need to shift to cost accounting and self-financing as of 1991. I am convinced that this needs to be done. If we do not do this, then the next 5-year plan will not differ very greatly from this 5-year plan. Therefore, over the next year and a half, it is necessary to work up a mass of all the possible standards documents so that, during the time we are putting together the entire concept of the 5-year plan, we would be able to make the fullest use of the union republics' cost acounting. I am for this and believe that this is an indispensable condition for our further development.

A question has been raised about the fact that certain republics may shift to cost accounting in 1990. I think it might be formulated this way: it is necessary in the coming year in certain republics to check specific components of territorial cost accounting. Such proposals have already been prepared and they have been examined as a preliminary with the Baltic Republics and Belorussia. Therefore, I think that, after the congress, it is necessary to sit down at the table and, as they say, determine what can be done in order, somehow, to move forward realistically in this check. But, on the whole, it is necessary to shift to territorial cost accounting by 1991.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**A.Y. Burachas**, chairman of the Scientific and Technical Information Council of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences' Presidium, Vilnius (the Alitusskiy Territorial Electoral District, Lithuanian SSR): Nikolay Ivanovich, I would like to define more precisely the criteria for the unprofitableness of the union republics. Specifically: The Lithuanian budget in recent years was balanced, but now, this year, the R700 million for all-union expenditures (with a total budget amount of more than R4 billion) gave us a deficit or state debt of R285 million and now it is already not clear whether or not it will be endured, so to speak. In addition, not returned to us were R800 million in the form of additional payments for milk and meat. Thus, the first question is, how much is it necessary for a republic to pay so that it is not considered unprofitable in the all-union plan?

The second question: Do you know that, in the last decade, the situation in our republic of the people living on the edge of hunger has almost not changed at all—that is, those who receive only R30 and live, as do, for example, single people, exclusively on this amount? Does it satisfy you that the situation is not changing?

And the last question: Our microprocessor technology is now being developed at a rapid pace, but no networ's or informational databases are being established and what is more, knowledge bases and knowledge banks are not being planned. Because of this, I think that even the large-scale industrial and defense potential is simply being depreciated repeatedly every year. Thank you.

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: Regarding the budget: I think the chairman of the Council of Ministers, whom the Supreme Soviet appoints, obviously, needs to deal with this question in a program statement of the government so that it would be completely clear what is going on with the budget in our country.

**Voices from the floor**: (Inaudible).

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: I should say the following, comrades. In general, there exists a certain paradox in our system. And we believe that it is precisely territorial cost accounting which should, as they say, solve this paradoxical situation. The very method of putting together the country's budget and those of the union republics consists of the union republics first designating their own expenditures and then the union regulating the budget. And it turned out that all the union republics balanced their incomes with their expenditures, while the union government did not balance things. I am not talking about specific figures now. In fact, this year, when we reported a R35 billion budget deficit, we were compelled to resort to apportioning some part of this burden of the state budget deficit proportionally to the union republics. I would not like to go into detail now on the specific figures, especially since I do not have them at hand.

The second question—regarding poverty. Yes, the government knows that, today, nearly 40 million people of our country's population are living, if it can be so stated, in "hellish poverty." We know this. What needs to be done? We discussed this at the congress and, obviously, the future government will have to think very seriously about how to get out of such a situation. The lion's share of those who are "behind the eight ball" are families with many children and people of pension age. You know that the pension for kolkhoz workers is R50 and for many city dwellers it is not much more. Families with many children and pensioners—here, basically, are two categories of people who have a low standard of living.

The third question. With regard to microprocessor technology. Yes, the government and the Politburo adopted a special program for the computerization of the national economy. I think that, against the background of the many shortages, in our country and precisely in this question, today, large changes for the better are occurring and a definite movement is beginning. Our task today is to provide the computers with programs and also to set up special centers where it is possible to learn and to develop programs. In order to do this, we have established the State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science. Its basic task is

how to solve these questions and, if it solves them poorly, we need to do something so that it makes a better job of what it was specially established to do.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**A people's deputy** (he did not introduce himself): Mikhail Sergeyevich, please excuse the lines which are standing here at the microphone. It is necessary in the near future to do everything so we can have normal working conditions.

Nikolay Ivanovich, two questions for you—from me and my constituents.

First. Do you understand that our country can not afford the lack of the most necessary consumer goods and the continuing planning for and enormous construction of industrial projects? That this diverts enormous material and labor resources from the establishment of more urgent—with a brief period of return—projects for the production of consumer goods? That the reduction in construction by 8 billion rubles, which has been planned by Decree No 231, is a mosquito bite in comparison with the expenditures being made at the present time?

The second question. Why is the Council of Ministers headed up by you, as before, in violation of the Law on the State Enterprise, fulfilling the plan for commodity output? Does it understand that this stimulates the production of expensive articles not very necessary for the national economy? Hence—the additional expenditure of wages and material resources.

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: The Council of Ministers has a firm position on this question. We believe that, in the coming 5-year plan, it is necessary to limit sharply capital construction in industry. But it is necessary to approach this in a balanced manner because there are sectors without which the country can not survive. Take, for example, the power industry. If there were no power industry, then we would come to a halt in general. But I agree that we have large reserves so that, in the coming 5-year plan, the basic amount of increase in capital investments (and in our opinion, this will be a very small amount) will be targeted for the solution of social problems, say, the development of industry associated with people. Here we have a firm position and the coming government will be precisely the one to realize it.

With regard to the gross output approaches.... Comrades, we are now at a very complicated stage in the development of the economic system, when, along with economic management methods, there exists also a directive management method. In fact, there are imperfections in our economic mechanism which make it possible for enterprises not to plan in detail one or another article. In fact, the wiping out of inexpensive goods is occurring. We are fighting this. There, where we see an extreme need, we see to it that specific state subsidies are granted. This is how we dealt in 1989 with the production of light industry goods for children, starting from this—and, socially, low prices for elderly people. Around R1 billion was allotted for this matter from the state budget so that factories would at least try to make these articles.

**From the floor**: Esteemed Nikolay Ivanovich! Of course, it is impossible to compare one trouble with another. I would like to ask the following: We introduced a proposal signed by around 100 deputies that the area around the Aral Sea be considered an ecological disaster zone. I want to remind you that, when we are talking about the area around the Aral Sea, we are talking about the life of several million inhabitants. What is your position in this matter?

The second question is about the distribution of basic foodstuffs. In Kara-Kalpakia, their per capita amount is several times less in comparison with the entire country. I want to know your position on this question.

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: My position on the Aral Sea and on this problem was expressed quite clearly in the government decree adopted on this question. We very carefully examined the problem, very carefully. You know that there were a lot of missions and we instructed many commissions to examine it thoroughly and to note ways out of the situation created. To say that the adopted decree and the planned measures will give us back the Aral Sea in its original form is impossible. Obviously, today, this matter is unrealistic. But, it is necessary to stop the processes and improve the situation.

Second. The main emphasis, as you know, in the mentioned decree is placed on creating normal conditions or, at least, minimally normal ones, for the life of the people in this zone. Whether we have been able to do this with the adopted decree or not, as they say, time will tell. If some questions have not been solved conclusively, I think that there will be an opportunity to return to this problem once again.

With regard to foodstuffs. Things have taken shape in our country in such a manner that there actually is a very big difference in the consumption of foodstuffs and particularly ones such as meat, butter and others. Here there are historical bases but, basically, they are, of course, economic ones and are of an economic nature. I think that we need to uplift agriculture as a whole. If we do not, but just distribute, more to some, less to others, then we do not solve the problem. All the same, somewhere the level will be lower. Therefore, our task is for everyone to turn their attention to agricultural production.

I believe that, of all the social problems confronting the national economy today, the questions of the production of foodstuffs could be quickly solved somewhere over the course of 2-3 years. The same also goes for consumer goods and other items.

We are adding in the defense complex and re-profiling the enterprises—there will be a return from this. The main thing today is to uplift the rural area and this will remove 70 percent of the tension in our society.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**From the floor**: Esteemed Nikolay Ivanovich! I want to address a specific question and with it a request, on the satisfaction of which will depend, to a large extent, the attitude toward you of many of the inhabitants of Lithuania. As you probably know, this summer, a mission is planned to various sites in Siberia for the purpose of transporting the remains of those who died during the Stalinist deportations in the years from 1941 through 1953. The preliminary work in connection with this has already been completed: There are lists of the dead, burial sites have been established, expenses have been provided for and so on. The question of transportation remains unsolved. We have already appealed to you, but we received a negative response. As far as I know, this question has also been raised in the Politburo, but we have also not received a specific response. Might we hope for your help in solving this question with is very important for the inhabitants of Lithuania?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: Of course, I think that the question of transportation is not the main question in this matter. We all understand the tragedy which occurred in our country and this pertains both to Lithuania and all the union republics, the cities and all of our people. And it is only from these positions that we should give an appraisal. The Politburo is now giving a firm appraisal to this question. It is necessary to perpetuate the memory of those who perished, and an awful lot is being done today directly in our country locally, in all regions. This is our position. This also pertains precisely to Lithuania.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Nikolay Ivanovich, one minute. I will now take up two notes. The comrades are asking about the agenda for the day, inasmuch as the impression has formed that I did not announce it. I conscientiously did this, having raised one question. Depending on how we decide it and how much time we spend on it, it will be clear whether or not we will be able to take up other questions. Therefore, as you understand, I gave my own statement and raised the question about the chairman. If time permits taking up other questions, those which we should solve in the Supreme Soviet, then we will consult with you and take them up. If you have no objection to this approach?

**From the floor**: A time limit!

**M.S. Gorbachev**: What kind of time limit? One minute. Alright, let us agree that we will allot another half hour to questions and answers. Is this acceptable to all? Comrades, do we need to vote? Then, first, I should hand over to Nikolay Ivanovich the written questions. For a response in conclusion. Brief questions and brief answers. And one apiece! What kind of time limit, I did not understand? Until what time will we work?

**From the floor**: We need to finish by 1130.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: So, let us agree. Thus, we will ask questions until 1130. Each person will ask one question. And we will ask Nikolay Ivanovich to be brief. Those in favor of this proposal, please vote.

Please put them down. Anyone opposed? Abstaining? The overwhelming majority accepts this procedure. Please, at the first microphone.

**Yu.N. Shcherbak**, writer and secretary of the board of the Ukrainian SSR Union of Writers (the Shevchenkovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kiev): Esteemed Nikolay Ivanovich! Is there a program of extraordinary measures for the improvement of the ecological situation in the country at least for those 100 hot spots, the 100 cities which are now in the worst state?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: Such a state ecological program is being worked out at the present time. It encompasses questions of the ecology as a whole, including 104 cities, which are in a difficult situation. In the near future, it will be sent to the Supreme Soviet and for nationwide discussion.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrade Sobchak, please.

**A.A. Sobchak**, head of the law department of Leningrad State University (the Vasileostrovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Leningrad): Esteemed Nikolay Ivanovich! Your personal attitude toward the proposal to bring into conformity as of 1 July of this year the Law on the 12th 5-Year Plan and the Law on the State Enterprise and to declare all the directive indices of the 12th 5-Year Plan, in conformity with the Law on the Enterprise, as not binding on the enterprises—that is, as having only guideline significance. And, in connection with this, what you think about all the government decrees and all the departmental acts of the ministries and departments which contradict the Law on the Enterprise and the Law on the Cooperative System being recognized as of 1 July of this year as no longer applicable?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: Regarding the first question: In my opinion, today, when there remain a year and a half until the end of the 5-year plan, to make any kinds of very strong, cardinal decisions pertaining to large changes in the economic system is inadvisable. This will also lead to a very large destabilization in the economic system. It is necessary, no matter how difficult, to live out this 5-year plan in strict conformity with the laws.

Second. After the appearance of the laws on the state enterprise and the cooperative system, a commission was set up, which examined all the questions of the conformity of the decrees of the Party's Central Committee and the Council of Ministers with these laws. In

accordance with the Law on the State Enterprise, 3,100 decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers were rescinded. According to our data, the republics also did some rescinding. The republics' ministries rescinded around 200,000 standard acts of all kinds. Therefore, it is not necessary to do this as of 1 July. All the decrees have been rescinded in that part where they do not conform to the law. If such decrees show up somewhere, and they do show up periodically, in fact, they need to be struck.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrade Doga, please.

**K.D. Doga**, composer and first deputy chairman of the board of the Moldavian SSR Union of Composers (the Chimishliyskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Moldavian SSR): I would like to hear how matters stand with one of the models of the cooperative form of management in the field of culture. A situation has taken shape now, when cooperatives have been set up, which have raised the cost of tickets. The cooperative operate at the stadiums and sports complexes. The best artists have engaged in cooperative activities and, therefore, the philharmonic and opera sectors are going to pieces. In fact, a large disproportion has shown up in the sense of social justice in the payment for labor. Thus, antagonism is developing. What kind of provisions are being made to solve this problem?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: This is one of those instances when I get criticized from the left and the right. The first criticism, a very harsh one, was after 29 December, when, by government decree, a list was specified which prohibited certain forms of cooperatives' activities. And this was in strict conformity with the Law on the Cooperative System, in which it had been explained that the Council of Ministers has the right to make such decisions. We believed that we needed to approach the ideological sphere in our society in a very balanced manner. Precisely the ideological sphere. And this caused a great deal of criticism.

Our opinion is that we should not hand over ideology into other hands. We should not. It is necessary to conduct ideological work, in conformity with our values, which is aimed at having its content respond to our socialist order. For this reason, a very big dispute also arose.

Our opinion is that the cooperative movement in the ideological sphere, in the press, and in concert activities, should be implemented under the leadership of specific state organs.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: We will yield the floor to the woman out of turn.

**From the floor**: Nikolay Ivanovich, you have already begun to answer partially my question. What actual changes for the better with respect to the rural areas and its workers do you see in the near future?

**M.S. Gorbachev**: The rural areas, right?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: I see the actual paths to the solution of the questions of the rural areas. This was mentioned at the March plenum. There is, first of all, the development of economic relations and the further improvement of the material base—we also have an awful lot to do in this direction. But the main thing I see is the solving of the rural areas' social problems. This includes housing, roads, culture, everyday life and so on.

In my opinion, the coming government, especially during the new 5-year plan, will have to give priority to the development of the rural areas.

**From the floor**: Do you not intend to switch the ministries to cost accounting and thereby transfer authority to the enterprises and territories? One more question. Do you believe that the Kuzbass is a new ecological crisis zone?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: I think that there is no need to switch the ministries over to cost accounting. These are, all the same, the state management organs. But, now, a specific movement in this question is beginning. Many sectors under the jurisdiction of a ministry are raising the qeustion about getting out from under their influence and setting up specific economic formations: associations and so on. I believe that this path is correct an it will make it possible to move forward. This will produce an opportunity for us to reduce gradually the number of ministries. With regard to the Kuzbass, I would not want to formulate anything now as this is too crucial a matter. And it is necessary, as they say, to think everything through carefully. But I was recently there, in the Kuzbass, and I should say that the problems there are most enormous, most enormous problems. They need to be solved. It is impossible to live the way the miners are living in the regions—in Prokopyevsk, Kiselevsk and other places and it is necessary to make decisions. And Comrade Chazov is now preparing proposals to correct the situation basically.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**N.M. Manko**, an installer from Construction and Installation Administration No 3 of the Dushanbezhilstroy [housing construction] Planning and Construction Administration (the Dushanbinskiy—Frunzenskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Tajik SSR): Is the Housing-2000 Program being backed up by material resources or does it just determine our need for housing? With an increase in housing construction by a factor of 2-3, the forests are being cut down at an increasing rate. Does this not affect the ecology? And what plans are you making to replace the forests with other construction materials?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: You know that Mikhail Sergeyevich mentioned in his own report that we recently increased housing construction by 15 percent. We believe that this

is one of the positive moments in the life of our country. But many questions immediately became more aggravated, including the production of construction materials and furniture. We believe that it is not necessary to develop to the maximum degree the construction industry. Primarily, of course, this concerns the union republics, to whom all these problems have been handed over. There have been improvements, but inadequate ones.

With regard to the forests. We are all sorry about the forests. But, in order not to cut down the forests, it is necessary to develop other types of construction materials, through chemistry, but there are also a great deal of problems with chemistry. We believe that it is necessary to develop to the maximum degree a chemical industry which will make it possible to solve the problems of both consumer goods and construction.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please, the fifth microphone.

**N.N. Engler**, senior scientific associate of the Physical Technical Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Ural Department (the Industrialnyy National Territorial Electoral District, Udmurt ASSR): Nikolay Ivanovich, in the election programs of many deputies (including my own), there was a question about strict deputy control of the budget and the appointment of the USSR Minister of Finances and the chairman of Goskomtsen [State Committee on Prices]. How do you feel about having the ministers account to the kopeck for the budget assets which the Supreme Soviet and the government permit them to spend? And will you take into consideration the will of the deputies if you personally appoint the minister of finances and the chairman of Goskomtsen?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: I will begin the answer from the end. With respect to the appointment of ministers, in particular, the minister of finances. The new government or the new chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in accordance with the constitution, will introduce proposals regarding the structure of the government and the personnel. In contrast to the previous practice, now there will be a very careful examination of each nomination in committees, commissions and the houses of the Supreme Soviet. Obviously, there will be constructive dialog. If the Supreme Soviet does not confirm a minister, then the chairman of the Council of Ministers should agree with this. If he is convinced that the minister can fulfill his function, then he should prove this to the deputies.

With regard to the budget. Comrades, it is evident that the situation is changing sharply in comparison with how this was previously. Of course, we still do not have an adequate practice today. We think that the draft of the plan, say, for 1990, including the budget (as the main component part of this plan), will be presented to the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet will study it, as will the Budget and Planning Commission and, as I understand, this budget will be confirmed by the coordinating organ in this instance and then by the Supreme Soviet. Then it will be the basis for executive authority. This is how I understand it. But it is necessary to examine the budget honestly and make specific decisions about where to send one group of assets or another.

**D.N. Kugultinov**, a writer and chairman of the board of the Kalmyk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] Union of Writers (the Iki-Burulskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Kalmyk ASSR): I have a question. The idea of a Volga-Chogray canal was associated with the movement of the waters of the northern rivers. This idea was "buried," but a canal without adequate planning estimates has already been partially dug. Around R100 million have already been squandered. What about completing the operation: They exposed the breast and abandoned it. How long will it be worn away under the action of the winds by the sands?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: I think there is no need for me to dwell in detail on this problem of the Volga-Chogray canal. Central Television, I know, showed the meeting of the Council of Ministers' Presidium, where this problem was examined. The government has made a decision to stop the construction of this canal. But we very carefully examined all proposals and comments and, mainly, felt the pain of both the Kalmyk people and the inhabitants of certain regions of Stavropol Kray, where people, as they say, are living without water. And we believe that the questions of the water supply for these two regions must be solved. Leading scientists of our country have been instructed to come up with an alternative by fall as to how to solve these questions. What will this be? Let us wait until fall.

**D.G. Smirnov**, design engineer of the production association of KhEMZ (the Kharkovskiy—Moskovskiy Territorial Electoral District): Are you prepared for the fact that certain sectors of our national economy will have to not only not develop further, but will even have to be curtailed significantly? I am talking about the mining and processing sectors.

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: Yes, I am prepared. Such an actual reality is in the upcoming 5-year plan. If we go on to the solution of questions of the social sphere and go on to an increase in investments in our agroindustrial complex, whether we want to or not, we will be obligated to reduce investments in heavy industry. Our task is to find the correct solution.

**A.P. Orekhov**, chairman of the Karymskiy Rayon Executive Committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies (the Chitinskiy Rural Territorial Electoral District, Chita Oblast): There is a long-term program for the Far East, Chita Oblast and the Buryat ASSR. What about in the future, will it still be in the view of the Council of Ministers?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: It will. But I think that now, when the Supreme Soviet becomes an active participant in the solution of all the socio-economic problems of our

country, we need to weigh very seriously the reality of the 13th 5-Year Plan. But as to the fact that this program needs to be carried out, I think there is no question about it.

**N.P. Grachev**, adjuster from the Third State Ball-Bearing Plant's production association (the Zavodskoy Territorial Electoral District, Saratov Oblast): Nikolay Ivanovich, this is my question for you. We talk a great deal about the independence of enterprises. This is correct. But, indeed, at the same time, it is necessary to grant them independence in the redistribution of profits.

I will cite an example. At our enterprise, from every ruble of profit there remain 15 kopeks. It has already been planned for 1990 that a profit of R25 million will be earned, but 23 million will be tranferred to the state fund. What do you think, is this phenomenon correct or not?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: I believe that we need now to divide not the state budget, but rather, the transfers to the local budget. When we shift to self-financing, there will be two transfers and they will be different: Everything depends on the activities of the one or the other enterprise. Today, it is impossible to give a single transfer recipe for both light industry and mining. Therefore, in each individual instance, uniform standards should be set up for each sector. As to what they will be, this is something we need, as the saying goes, to sit down at the table and decide.

**Yu.Yu. Sokolova**, a senior instructor of the Chief Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy. (From the women's soviets, united as the Soviet Women's Committee): The Council of Ministers' decree on paid leave for taking care of a child until it is 18 months old made millions of women very happy. We expected the start of implementation of the decree as of 1 July of this year. Now we know that the time frame has been shifted to 1 December. We are receiving anxious letters from women, is this not proof of further shifts in the time frame? Or, perhaps, is something threatening the realization of this decree on the whole?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: No, it is not. The time frame has been shifted by several months, indeed, taking into consideration the situation in the country.

**From the floor**: Nikolay Ivanovich, in industry, at the majority of enterprises, in the manufacturing process, during the production of articles, there is a dual control: the OTK [Quality Control Department] and state acceptance. This lengthens the manufacturing process and requires additional resources. Your point of view on the state of these matters?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: My point of view is firm. I believe that state acceptance is a temporary matter. As soon as an economic influence on the quality of the output begins in earnest (And here we still have, by the way, a lot of unfinished work of all kinds and, in particular, all kinds of monopolizm), in my opinion, state acceptance will not be necessary. We are now saying: The new government will have to make such a decision. Those collective which take it upon themselves to guarantee the output of good quality products, I believe, will be freed from state acceptance. But it is necessary to have guarantees.

**From the floor**: Nikolay Ivanovich, with regard to health care. In our republic, for example, the development of health care is lagging sharply behind the population growth rate. As a result, many treatment centers have been placed in adapted accomodations. A high mortality rate for children is being noted, along with a high maternity mortality rate and a fierce increase in infectious diseases. What are the plans for the future for the development of these spheres?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: We know that you are in a very difficult situation and Comrade Likhanov, who addressed the congress, spoke about this. We are very sympathetic about this. We believe that it is necessary to assign both more material and financial resources to health care. Incidentally, this has already been done also in the current 5-year plan. We think that, in the coming 5-year plan, we need to improve substantially the situation as well with the construction of hospitals, polyclinics and the production of medications, which, for the time being, are in extremely short supply.

**L.M. Veyser**, secretary of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Leaque [Komsomol] Committee of the Masanchi Secondary School, Kazakh SSR, Dzhambul Oblast, Kurdayskiy Rayon. (From the All-Union Leninist Komsomol): Nikolay Ivanovich, certain prominent economists see one of the path for getting our country out of the difficult economic crisis in a large foreign loan. Your point of view as head of the government?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: Yes, I know this point of view, which consists of the idea that, in order to get out of this situation today, it is necessary to secure large loans and solving, say, the present-day questions: removing the social tension in the consumer market. If we think about the present day, it would be possible to do this, but, if we think about what we will have tomorrow, the day after tomorrow and after several years, I think, plunging into such debts today would be politically incorrect and very dangerous. If I have to make a government statement today, I will try to answer this question. (Applause).

**L.I. Matyukhin**, chief of the Gorkiy Railroad (the Gorkovskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Gorkiy): Esteemed Nikolay Ivanovich! At the present time, a program had been worked out for the modernization of railroad transportation. What is your point of view with respect to its fate?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: Yes, such a program has been worked out. We know that (just as in other sectors of the national economy) an extraordinarily large number of problems has piled up in railroad transportation, which can not be bypassed. We believe that this program must be reviewed in the fall or, at the least, close to fall, when the positions for the 13th 5-Year Plan will be shaped definitively. And it is necessary, of course, to make a careful review and, to the maximum degree, to solve these questions.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Nikolay Ivanovich, thank you. I think we will end the questions now. As agreed.

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: I thank you, comrades, for your attention and I thank you for those, I would not say very interesting, but, nevertheless, vitally important questions. And I feel that it is our common pain and our common concern to find ways out of that difficult economic situation, in which we still find ourselves today for the time being. Thank you. (Applause).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrades! Some comrades have sent up some notes. Here are four I discovered. They want to speak on this matter. The first note—Comrade Petr Antonovich Druz, he is from the Kuzbass, from the veterans. Is Comrade Petr Antonovich Druz here? Please. Let us agree to this: a maximum of 3 minutes per speech. And I will act decisively on your behalf. (Noise in the hall). We will conclude the discussion at 12 o'clock. Please.

**P.A. Druz**, a pensioner, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], Kemerovo Oblast, Belovo (from the All-Union Council of War and Labor Veterans): Esteemed Chairman, esteemed members of the Supreme Soviet! For 2 weeks, the Congress of People's Deputies has been discussing very stormily the political, economic, social and moral problems of our country's life and laying the foundation for a new structure, in which the role of the government is very large. The Kuzbass' deputies have talked things over and exchanged opinions about who could head up the government during such a crucial and responsible period. And our common opinion is that the nomination of Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, put forth by the party's Central Committee is most suitable and I support it.

But this does not mean that I am completely satisfied with the activities of the USSR Council of Ministers, which is headed up by Comrade Ryzhkov. I believe that, primarily, the government and its ministers, in whose hands the levers of centralized management still are, should answer for the imbalance in the economic system, which created the general deficit, the worsening of the ecological situation and the lowering of the people's standard of living and not the party, which was the initiator of restructuring and which defined its concept. It is precisely the ministers and the Council of Ministers, in supervising restructuring, who permitted the sluggishness and committed the omissions and errors. During the recent elections, the line of fire of criticism was directed mainly at the party. And the shots of the people's dissatisfaction hit the leaders of the local party and soviet organs and the industrial enterprises. They were in the sights of the people and they took the entire blow upon themselves.

But the ministers, such as Comrades Shchadov and Konarev, did not put their own sectors in order and are simply ignoring the party's policy for the priority development of the social sphere of society. It is their fault that the inauspicious situation developed in the Kuzbass and in the country as well. But the ministers themselves turned out to be out of the line of fire of the electorate's criticism. Not one of them, as is well known, was nominated as a candidate for people's deputy. They deserve stern public certification. This is the reason for the serious reflections.

Yet, all the same, I want to express my own firm confidence in the fact that Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, having listened to how, with such emotional pain and hope for the future, the congress' people's deputies have spoken all these days, is thoroughly imbued with an understanding of the fact that the country's economic mechanism is not working harmoniously and that the government needs to restructure its own operations and, in fact, break up the bureaucratic management apparatus by means of decentralization, the multiplicity of forms of property, genuine cost accounting, leasing, and the transfer of many functions to the local soviets.

I think that Comrade Ryzhkov will handle the job well and will prove this by his deeds. The people are convinced that the government will bring restructuring to its logical completion.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Thank you. Comrade Komarov from Tuva. And then Comrade Miloserdnyy, Orshanskiy Territorial District.

**Yu.T. Komarov**, general director of the V.I. Lenin Tuvaasbest Combine, Ak-Dovurak (the Barun-Khemchikskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Tuva ASSR): Esteemed comrade chairman! Esteemed comrade deputies! Esteemed Nikolay Ivanovich! I find myself in a complicated situation and I thought the discussion would go into detail, but now I will try to be brief. Our Tuva group supports the proposal of the CPSU Central Committee and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev regarding the appointment of Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov to the position of chairman of the Council of Ministers. We also, just like Doctor Kasyan, believe that we would not be making a mistake if we entrust to him subsequently as well the rudder of our economic system. In particular, I, as the manager of an enterprise, am impressed very much by the fact that Nikolay Ivanovich went through all the steps of service at so large an industrial enterprise as Uralmash. And we, in appointing him to the position of chairman of the Council of Ministers, are appointing not a bureaucrat, but rather, an

industrial worker. I think that his moral, personal, and political qualities will not permit him to forget those lessons and the experience he received while working in production. And he will correctly solve all the questions.

At the same time, I would like to express a large number of critical comments and my own proposals. But I will dwell on one. We are very disturbed by the following. I work in the construction materials industry and I can relate to what Mikhail Sergeyevich said in his own report regarding the shortage of construction materials for the implementation of the Housing-2000 Program. I want to express my own disagreement. I have in my hands a document, signed by you, Nikolay Ivanovich, and your deputy, Comrade Batalin, on 29 May, during the working days of the congress, regarding the elimination of the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry and its division into 10 state concerns. I, for example, do not know what this means. I see my own place in the state concern Tsement, which intends to unite over 100 enterprises in all regions and republics of the country—that is, a mini-ministry is being established. This is being done in manner unlike that stated in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report, when the foundation of our economic system is supposed to be the enterprises, which, on voluntary bases and on a cost accounting basis, establish associations and other organizations. And now, reorganization from above is occurring again and the well-known three-stage structure, from which we just got away, is appearing again.

Moreover, Gosplan is contemplating transferring the machine building complex, another series of administrations—that is, a second Agroprom [agro-industrial committee] is being established. Has this really taught us nothing? Indeed, all during the existence of Agroprom, the local wits convinced us that this is a most successful policy. The CIA is opposed to our economic system. (Laughter in the hall). But, comrades, when Agroprom swallowed the food and the meat and dairy production, we applauded along with you. They had validated this to us. As a result, we lost the smell of cheese and forgot the taste of sausage, although the production of milk and meat was increased. This, apparently, is not the fault only of our agrarians, but a consequence of the fact that the independent sectors lost their own significance. If the Ministry of Construction Materials follows the same path, we will lose even more. Thus, I ask that we stick to the course which was declared in the report and which, incidentally, even you, Nikolay Ivanovich, just supported. I thank you for your attention.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I yield the floor to Deputy Anatoliy Kirillovich Miloserdnyy. Comrade Igityan, prepare yourself.

**A.K. Miloserdnyy**, director of the Orsha Krasnyy Borets Machine Tool Building Plant, Orsha (the Orshanskiy Territorial Electoral District, Vitebsk Oblast): Esteemed chairman! Esteemed people's deputies! I and my constituents have accumulated a lot of questions for our government. It is completely incomprehensible how this can occur in such a government as ours, with such a wealth of natural resources, a powerful industry and science—we can not satisfy the needs of our people for the simplest goods. The impression is being created that our government, in making the individual decisions, does not calculate the courses forward and what the end result of the decision taken will be. The decisions taken are not always backed up with finances or material resources. There are a lot of discussions about the individual questions and very few practical results.

The economic reform did not move the economic system forward, while, for individual questions, the situation was aggravated. The documents adopted regarding the priority of self-management [khozsposob] with instructions about what will be allocated for this did not produce any result. As if, through the making of such decisions, the amount of construction materials would increase. So much paper has been written about the fact that it is necessary to teach our rising generation on the basis of computerization! But where are these computers for the schools, VUZ's [higher educational institution], technical schools, colleges and so on? The March CPSU Central Committee Plenum dealt with agrarian questions. After it, three government resolutions were adopted. But my constituents are dissatisfied with these resolutions. And even the congress' work confirms that there are a lot of shortcomings in the resolutions and it is necessary to insert serious corrections in them. I would like to say a few words about the priorities adopted.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Your time has expired.

**A.K. Miloserdnyy**: The priorities are not being carried out. I will vote for you, Nikolay Ivanovich, but I would like our newly formed government to solve the many questions more energetically and more successfully and for you to supervise them the same way you worked during the elimination of the aftermath in Armenia. Thank you.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I yield the floor to Deputy Igityan and then—Comrade Trefilov.

**G.S. Igityan**, general director of the Republic Center for Esthetic Education and director of the Museum of Contemporary Art of Armenia, Yerevan (from the USSR Union of Artists): I want to begin with what our colleague ended. Nikolay Ivanovich, an enormous amount of thanks to you for the fact that, in the most extreme situation, you did so much for our republic and for the Armenian people. I believe that the nature of man is manifested precisely in extreme situations and precisely in the most complicated situations. For some reason, it is customary for us to pile all our sins on one person. Comrades, we always seek such a one, forgive the comparison—but in the Great Russian language, there is a

phrase—"to look for a scapegoat," in order to pile everything on this person. We know wherein lie the reasons. And let us not emphasize the question.

And so, I want to say that we wholly support the nomination of Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. Moreover, I want to say that he embodies in himself the best features of the Russian Man, the Russian Man of the 20th Century, in whom we see not a functionary or a bureaucrat, but rather, a person in whom live compassion and a soul. And this is a most important thing for any leader. We saw how dark the circles were under his eyes, we saw how, in the Armenian forest of Dzhadzhur, an elderly woman came up to him, embraced him and said, in Armenian, words which may be translated so: "I will take your pain, I will carry away your pain." I believe that this is the best answer of our people. This is the first thing.

Without claiming exclusiveness, but taking into consideration the extreme situation in our republic, I ask to say a few words. You know that nearly a million people have been left homeless as a result of the earthquake, as well as the presence of refugees from Azerbaijan and for other reasons, about which I do not want to say any more. You know quite well.

And so, I want to turn to Mikhail Sergeyevich and to Nikolay Ivanovich with this request. You know quite well that the Ararat Valley could become a granary of our country, one of the best granaries, for nowhere else in the world are there apricots such as the ones which grow in Ararat Valley. Nor are there grapes. And yet, the "fathers of the peoples," instead of feeding all the Soviet people the splendid golden apricots, constructed there the Nairit chemical plant, which may bring to our people yet another danger, no less ominous than the earthquake. I ask you, indeed, we are a single country, a common home, why do we not think about removing all these chemical plants from the republic's best sites? (Noise in the hall). One second, I am finishing up. An explosion of Nairit could kill the remainder of our people. I say this to you quite seriously. And, therefore, I ask you to turn your attention to Alaverdi, to Kirovakan and to the Nairit plant. Thank you.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I yield the floor to Comrade Trefilov and then Comrade Lubenchenko will speak.

**V.I. Trefilov**, vice president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences' Problems of Materials Science Institute, Kiev (from the USSR Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies): Esteemed chairman, dear comrades! In that tense situation, which has taken shape in our country today, during the period of restructuring, we all understand that at the head of the government should stand a person who is distinguished and professionally prepared to the highest extent. I have had occasion to interact with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov during the preparations for a number of scientific and technical programs. I want to tell you: Working with him left a very deep impression. Now in our country, scientific and technical priorities have been determined, their setting up has been completed and the concentration of forces is beginning in those directions, without which we, in fact, could not survive tomorrow and the day after and, without which, we could neither overcome the economic difficulties nor get out of our problems.

I agree with the comrade who spoke before me. I would like to emphasize one more aspect of the matter. As Montaigne once said: A mind well organized is worth more than a mind well filled. Nikolay Ivanovich, here is a person who possesses not only the highest professional preparation, but also, in fact, the natural ability to choose quickly the necessary problems. I have seen this and I myself am certain of this.

Finally, one more circumstance, to which I would like to draw your attention. Dear comrades, we have shown complete confidence in the captain of restructuring—Mikhail Sergeyevich. I think it is necessary to meet him halfway and support his request and to help him in shaping the team which he needs today. Thank you.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I yield the floor to Deputy Lubenchenko and then Comrade Ismailov.

**K.D. Lubenchenko**, docent of the M.V. Lomonosov law department of Moscow State University, Moscow (the Ramenskiy Territorial Electoral District, Moscow Oblast): Esteemed comrade deputies! It seems to me that the deafness of the USSR Council of Ministers to the suggestions of our country's leading specialists—managers, economists and jurists—and to the bureaucratic brakes which have been installed in the laws on the socialist enterprise, on the cooperative system and on individual labor activities and in the resolution on leasing relations is not a consequence of the fact that we overlooked something or a consequence of the novelty of these questions or the lack of experience. It is a consequence of the fact that we conscientiously and purposefully attempted to preserve in these laws the administration-and-command methods of regulating such processes. Otherwise, how else can we explain, for example, the distortion of the contract form for regulating the economic self-reliance of enterprises? How can we explain the fact that the judicial and especially the arbitration forms of protection, for all practical purposes, could not ensure the economic self-reliance of the enterprises with respect to state orders? How can we explain the fact that the above-cited legislative acts are very strongly saturated with general phrases and propagandistic slogans? How can we explain the fact that absent in these legislative acts is the juridical form of responsibility of the ministries and departments for those of their decisions which lead to results which are unfavorable for enterprises and other economic organizations?

Comrades, in the course of the discussion, I did not form, for the time being, a distinct and clear idea about the personal qualities of our future chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers . Therefore, I think that he, in addressing the congress, needs to reveal himself in such a manner that we see in him a person who possesses special ideas and his own clear and firm position. Exactly as we saw this in examining the previous nominations of officials.

That is all I have to say.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. I yield the floor to Deputy Ismailov, then to Comrade Gritsenko, the deputy from the trade unions.

**T.K. Ismailov**, general director of the Space Research Scientific Production Association of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, Baku. (The Nakhichevanskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Azerbaijan SSR): Comrade deputies! I think that we have the right to consider the discussion on the nomination of the head of the Soviet Government as an organic continuation of the debates on the report about the USSR's domestic and foreign policies. Of course, at the same time, it is easiest of all to proceed along the already well-trodden path, listing the known omissions and miscalculations. But, with regard to criticism, we, it seems, have already overfulfilled all the norms. And yet, with regard to constructive proposals, we are all experiencing that notorious deficit.

I can not agree with those who try to place the blame for all our shortcomings on the government and its chairman. The reason for our lagging behind, in my opinion, has been caused, to a large extent, by the fact that not all of us could be restructured and by the fact that we have still not learned to work under the new conditions, to think independently and to act effectively. And this, under the conditions when the complete fullness of authority is being concentrated more and more in the labor collectives, when they have been given an opportunity to draw up plans independently, to determine their partners and to elect their leaders. Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov is one of the active and direct guides of restructuring, who is exerting a great deal of effort for its development and enhancement. This is a person with a wealth of vital experience, a politician and a manager, who was formed in a multi-thousand-member work collective, well known in our country, a leader who has distinguished himself well in various party and state positions. He deserves, in this moment, which is difficult for our country, to be reappointed the head of our government. Nikolay Ivanovich enjoys enormous prestige even in our republic, where, with his active participation, the most important question of social and economic development are being solved. At the same time, there are questions which should, in our opinion, occupy a serious place in the program of the next government. In particular, it seems necessary to introduce clarity in the question about the place and purpose of space in the life of our country—a question, naturally, which is disturbing not just to my colleagues, the developers of rocket and space equipment. Our achievements in space are the pride of the Soviet people, thanks to whose talent, a large set of priorities even in many unique projects has been realized. I assert: We need, henceforth, to pay a lot of attention to space research and, first and foremost, to the study of the earth and the world ocean from space. Our delegation supports Mikhail Sergeyevich's proposal regarding the appointment of Comrade Ryzhkov as chairman of the Soviet Government.

**From the floor**: It is not necessary to speak from a piece of paper....

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I will not check the speakers' summaries. You can decide this yourselves there.... I yield the floor to Comrade Gritsenko and then Deputy Mukhametzyanov from Tataria.

**N.N. Gritsenko**, rector of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU's] N.M. Shvernik Higher School of the Trade Union Movement, Moscow (from the USSR trade unions): Comrades! I also came with a summary, but I wrote it myself, together with my colleagues. For the purpose of saving time, if you will permit, I will read it aloud.

Esteemed comrade chairman, esteemed deputies of the Supreme Soviet, esteemed television viewers and radio listeners! The deputies from the trade unions have weighed very carefully the proposal on the nomination for the position of chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and have decided to support the appointment of Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov to this position. The reasons? In this post should be a competent specialist, a democratic leader open to the people, who enjoys prestige and confidence. And what is no less important—is sympathetic to the people, a person who has a balanced approach during the solving of questions and feels the pain of another. This is a person who should be a reliable leader in all respects, who can be treated as an equal. A leader who is able to analyze what has been done in a self-critical manner, to rally the people and to give an example in the work on restructuring.

On the eve of the congress, at our request, a meeting took place of the members of the central committees of the industrial trade unions and the trade union councils from the entire country with Comrade Ryzhkov, at which we had the opportunity to obtain a detailed idea about how Comrade Ryzhkov sees the state of affairs in the economic system, how he evaluates it and what specific measures the government is adopting. His positions and practical activities, and they are evident to all of us, make it possible to say that the candidate, Comrade Ryzhkov, meets the high requirements placed on the leader of the country's government. Especially now,

when it is necessary to ensure continuity in the policy of restructuring, without delay, and to implement it more decisively. Therefore, we support the nomination of Comrade Ryzhkov.

Along with this, using the the deputy term, I believe it is necessary to express our mandate: The new cabinet should intensify the social orientation in the policy and improve the interaction with public organizations. And to work more, I would say, to restructure his own activities for democratic harmony, taking into consideration the fact that now all public organizations are included in the political system and are a real force in the management system.

We support the nomination and will vote for Comrade Ryzhkov.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I yield the floor to Deputy Mukhametzyanov and next is Deputy Chabanov.

**A.K. Mukhametzyanov**, general director of the V.D. Shashin Tatneft Production Association, Almetyevsk (the Almetyevskiy Territorial Electoral District, Tatar ASSR): At the congress, my mandate is represented by the peasantry. In solving the question of providing the population with foodstuffs, the kolkhoz peasantry owed a large debt to the country. This is evident from the empty shelves in the stores. But are the agricultural workers solely responsible for this?

The people of the rural areas expected a lot from the March (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and from the decrees of the USSR Council of Ministers. But, again, only half-way measures were received, especially in the field of management. There was RAPO [Rayon Agro-Industrial Organization] and it became APO. Or a farm was renamed a combine and the personnel were increased by a factor of 2-3.

Many deputies promised in their own election meetings to raise the level of the pension payment and, perhaps, sometimes even without having a clue as to where it is possible to take these billions of rubles from. I would like today to give a little help to the deputies and to Nikolay Ivanovich, by showing where there is at least a billion rubles, which is still not enough to raise the minimum pension of the rural population to the minimum level of that of the city dwellers. Our farms left RAPO and, as a result, we stopped transferring to its account 90,000-100,000 rubles annually, which went for equipment maintenance. We used these assets to increase the minimum level of the pensions of more than 300 former kolkhoz workers and built a home for the aged. It is being proposed that, as of 1 January of next year, the size of the pensions be increased to 80 rubles and more.

The most important thing is to work successfully, without any kinds of instructions and management from above. Like, for example, our lessees... If there is a CPSU Central Committee Plenum resolution and a USSR Council of Ministers decree on the abolition of the cumbersome agricultural management mechanism, then the conclusion suggests itself: The state does not need it. So why do the kolkhozes continue to pay rent to the associations, thereby violating the kolkhoz regulations? Yes, this also pertains to the sovkhozes... In stopping the payments from the farms' profits, we will thereby immediately free ourselves from the management mechanism. There will be no one to support it. And this will free up more than R1 billion of the people's money, which can be directed at improvement of the kolkhoz workers' social conditions.

I, like many of my deputy colleagues who work in agriculture, believe: The USSR Council of Ministers has still paid an inadequate amount of attention to the rural areas.

I would like to end my speech with a question for Nikolay Ivanovich. How do you look at the question about the establishment of an Agrarian Committee, considering that this is the proposal of more than 400 congress deputies and that there are more than 90 agrarian deputies in the two houses of the Supreme Soviet? Who is the developer of the latest model for management of agricultural production? Do you believe it will be successful if obligatory plans for purchases for many indices are abandoned for the next 5-year plan?

But, all the same, I will vote for you....

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I yield the floor to Comrade Chabanov, whom I have already anounced. With this, we will end the exchange of opinions.

**A.I. Chabanov**, general director of the Rotor Scientific Production Association, Cherkassy (the Cherkasskiy Territorial Electoral District, Cherkassy Oblast, Ukrainian SSR): Esteemed comrades! I know Nikolay Ivanovich from his work in the Council of Ministers and from contact with his colleagues and I respect him very much. But the questions being examined today are fateful in nature. It is necessary to say that I have been depressed by today's answers from Nikolay Ivanovich to the questions. It turns out that we have, comrades, the word "acceleration," which has already been all but wiped out of the lexicon in general and wiped out groundlessly. Or Niklay Ivanovich's ideas that it is possible to preserve in this 5-year plan the existing laws and existing tendencies and even not to abolish the gross output. All this can and needs to be done, and immediately! Or, for example, when Nikolay Ivanovich talked as if the area around the Aral Sea would not be restored. It is possible to stop this process and correct the matter. Nikolay Ivanovich here, to put it bluntly, does not pose the question in concrete and does not show the will, but the question can be solved.

Nikolay Ivanovich, it seems to me that, in your speech, to which we listened, in general, a section is missing such as about the restoration of the government's intellectual

might. A section is also missing about the rapid redistribution of financial resources. And one more section—about a strategic system for the establishment of financial resources and structural economic transformations in our industry.

This is what I wanted to say, comrades. Mikhail Sergeyevich is recommending Nikolay Ivanovich. If we had listened to his report, expressed to him critical comments and listened to Nikolay Ivanovich's conclusion, then we would probably support him. Otherwise, I would abstain on principle. Now, all the same, I will vote for Nikolay Ivanovich. But I ask you to give me the floor so that I can come forth with serious criticism of his speech. And to examine the question about whether it would be possible to work seriously in the Planning and Budget Finance Commission.

Mikhail Sergeyevich, the questions touched upon are, indeed, painful and they and the answer troubled me. Thank you for your attention.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrades, one moment. As we agreed, the discussion time has expired and the requests about this, of course, have not been realized to a significant extent. Yet, nevertheless, we should do as we agreed. Tell me, can I go on to clarify the matter? Shall we decide now, or shall we continue the discussion?

**From the hall**: Decide now!

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Decide now....

**A.N. Saunin**, docent of the Makeyevskiy Construction Engineering Institute, Donetsk (the Makeyevskiy Territorial Electoral District, Donetsk Oblast, Ukrainian SSR): Mikhail Sergeyevich, may I ask a question?

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Of me?

**A.N. Saunin**: Of you and the rest of the deputies. I have had occasion already on the first day, at the start of the congress, to mention the fact that certain deputies seemingly are hurrying after a departing train. We have been elected to the country's Supreme Soviet. Is this how we intend subsequently to solve the most important questions of state affairs?

I have a proposal: Whoever has no time, let them leave the hall! What kind of hasty decisions are these?!

**From the seats**: That is correct! (Applause).

**A.N. Saunin**: We are discussion the nomination for one of the highest state positions: the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. In any civilized country, the debates on the goverment's program take several days. And I believe that we have acted incorrectly—it would be necessary to listen to Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's report.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Well, we have already decided this question with you. You will recall, when you confirmed the agenda for the day, this was decided.

**A.N. Saunin**: This is precisely the haste I am talking about.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: We do not need to go back. This is your opinion and the congress decided otherwise.

**A.N. Saunin**: Well, but why today, where are we off to in such a hurry today?

**M.S. Gorbachev**: You see that I put the question and I want to clarify this: How shall we proceed further—continue or decide the question about the appointment?

**A.N. Saunin**: Mikhail Sergeyevich, I spoke out because I had already felt the common mood: You put the question and the general tone is—we will end the discussion with this. Therefore, I want to speak out. I have my own opinion, which differs somewhat from those of the speakers.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine.

**From the floor**: Mikhail Sergeyevich, all the same, I believe that we women also suffered a large defeat in the elections. But even here there is also discrimination against women. The men will not yield the floor to the women. Therefore, I ask that you pay attention to this.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: The deputy believes that our discussion, as it went, excluded the opinion of women. She asks that, in order to correct this shortcoming, she be given 2-3 minutes. And this will be the end of it.

**From the hall**: Yes!

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**A people's deputy** (she did not introduce herself): Most esteemed deputies, most esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, in my own speech, first of all, I want to support the nomination of Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov for the position of chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. I support it because I deeply respect this person, first of all, for his humane qualities and for his understanding of the interests of all sections of the population, including those of us women.

At the same time, I would like to address one question to him. Nikolay Ivanovich, I ask you very much, if it is possible, to respond to it either at the congress or somehow during our work. But I can not refrain from asking this question. Nikolay Ivanovich, I would like to know your opinion about the pricing policy in agriculture and especially in cotton growing, which is, in essence, a state monopoly and we can not influence this monopoly policy in any way. Yet, on the solution of this question depend the fate of our people, our cotton

growers and the entire rural population of our republic, which produces the basic supply of cotton for the country and among the population of which 40 percent live in hellish poverty. All our constituents in Uzbekistan are waiting for an answer to this question. I have no time to speak further. In conclusion, I simply want to support once again the nomination of Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I want to express an opinion which, perhaps, will somehow make the situation clear. We have been conducting this exchange of opinions and having these questions in connection with the appointment. If we appoint Comrade Ryzhkov, then he has to make a report. We handed over to him all the questions he was not able to answer. He will come forth with a report and, after this, the debates will continue. So we will still have a whole day at the congress devoted to the discussion of these questions. And a number of deputies will still speak and express their own views. This is the first thing.

Second. You probably got the idea: The confirmation of the ministers will begin after the presentation of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and, apparently, will drag on for a week or two, and that is already half a month and life shows this. We will be talking about a serious discussion in the commissions and the committees of all the members of the government during their appointment. So, as they say, the surface has barely been scratched. This, perhaps, will facilitate your understanding of the fact that the Supreme Soviet will still be able to talk with the government on a sound basis, so to speak.

**Voices**: (Inaudible).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Well, comrades, shall we continue the discussion or not?

**Voices**: No. (Noise).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Thus, there are, as I understand it, two proposals. One is not to continue, to conclude the discussion at this point and proceed to a vote on the appointment of the chairman. And there was a second proposal—to continue the discussion now, today.

And do you also want to submit a proposal or to speak?

**From the floor**: I wanted to speak. I sent two notes.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Yes, I understand. They are probably here.... (Noise, voices).

**From the floor**: Mikhail Sergeyevich, I suggest these notes be read during the discussion of Nikolay Ivanovich's report.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Yes, yes, yes.

**From the floor**: Look here, he wrote a note. Yield the floor....

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Well, you know, here are the notes, I will look....

**From the floor**: And then a second line will form....

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I just looked at Comrade Yemelyanov, who is already attempting to write a note. If we include all the notes in the discussion, then it will also be necessary to include him and the others who wrote notes at the congress.

**From the floor**: Mikhail Sergeyevich, excuse me, please. This is also my opinion and the opinion of many of the deputies. I think we have enough ideas from you about the nomination, but, subsequently, there should be specific proposals and comments about it. Otherwise, everyone will be coming forward and beginning: I am for him, I am for him. But what if you are not, then, does this mean, do not come forward? A little less talk about how good he is. Everybody knows this from the newspapers. But if you have something against him, then come forward and speak.

Second. Since I have already gotten up, permit me to put a question to Nikolay Ivanovich. You already started talking about how there will be a discussion here of each minister.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I have already answered. This may take up a prolonged period of time.

**From the floor**: Do you support this, Nikolay Ivanovich?

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: I have stated that, in accordance with the constitution, we have a chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers who is appointed by the Supreme Soviet and confirmed by the congress at one session and it is necessary to assume that, immediately after the congress, he should present the staff of the government, which, as Mikhail Sergeyevich has stated here, will be examined over the course of 10 days or 2 weeks in the houses, in the committees and in the Supreme Soviet—each minister personally.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Are you asking to reply? A reply is 30 seconds.

**From the floor**: Comrade deputies, I appeal to everyone. Not all of us are yet used to the fact that we have become members of the Supreme Soviet and all of us, or more likely, many of us, have a pleading tone in our speeches. Let us rid ourselves of this. Indeed, it is we who are the real authority and we want to have real authority. But you come forward and plead: "Esteemed Nikolay Ivanovich, help us...." Let us solve these questions ourselves and not ask someone else. (Applause).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. I think that everything which has been said here is useful. Thus, there is the first proposal—to end at this point the discussion in connection with the questions about the appointment for the position of chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and to proceed immediately to vote. I ask those who are for this proposal to vote. Please lower your cards. Those opposed? Please lower them. Shall we take a count or not?

**From the floor**: No.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: An overwhelming majority. The question has been decided, we will stop. In connection with this, I put the question of the appointment to a vote. Here, it is true, I should be advised. Do we vote together?

**A.I. Lukyanov**: Together, the two houses.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Then I put it to a vote. I ask those who are for the appointment of Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov to the position of chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers to raise their cards. This is why we gave them to you. There may be guests here, and they will begin to vote.... Please lower them. Those opposed? Count them. (A poll of the votes is taken). Nine against.... Those abstaining? Abstentions—31.

Thus, Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov is appointed to the position of chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. (Applause).

**N.I. Ryzhkov**: Esteemed people's deputies, I sincerely thank you for the support you have shown me now in appointing me to the position of chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. I understand quite well what obligations are being placed today on the head of the government and I understand what a complicated time we are living in. But I also understand quite well the fact that only movement forward will make it possible for us to solve the pressing problems confronting our society.

I think that the new government, which you will be confirming later, will exert every effort to solve the problems confronting our country and each Soviet person. This, apparently, will be a difficult path and difficult work. I am counting on the help of our country's people's deputies and on the present-day corps of deputies, which differs basically from the old one. I am relying on the intellect and the wisdom of the deputies and on the important support of our Soviet people and I will devote all my own efforts to serving them. Thank. You. (Applause).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: We have already made a decision on two questions: We have taken into consideration the statement of the Council of Ministers regarding the surrendering of authority and we have appointed the chairman of the Council of Ministers. But life goes on and we probably need to go on to the confirmation of the government's new staff, as we have traditionally done, and to extend the powers of the present staff and allow it to continue, for the time being, to discharge its own duties. Yes, comrades?

Thus, we will have a concluding decree as follows:

First. The statement of the USSR Council of Ministers regarding the surrendering of its own powers to the USSR Supreme Soviet is taken into consideration.

Second. Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov is appointed chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and is instructed to present to the USSR Supreme Soviet his proposals regarding the composition of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Third. The USSR Council of Ministers is to continue to discharge its own duties right up until the formation of the new USSR Council of Ministers by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Until the formation by the Supreme Soviet, this will depend on the Supreme Soviet and what kind of debates go on here.

I am putting this draft of the decree to a vote. The members of both houses will vote.

I ask those in favor of the adoption of this decree to raise their cards. Please lower them. Those opposed? Abstentions?

One against and two abstaining. Fine, it is decided, comrades.

Now, we are clear about the time. We have 1 hour and 40 minutes to spare. We can take a 20-minute recess and we will have 1 hour and 20 minutes left.

Let us talk things over. We need to continue with the day's agenda. At this joint sitting, we were supposed to elect the chairman of the USSR Committee of People's Control and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, to appoint the USSR Procurator General and the USSR Chief State Arbitrator, and to form, on the basis of the discussions which have already taken place in the houses, the committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This is the agenda for the day. All the questions regarding the elections and appointments, except, of course, of the committees, should then be finally decided at the congress. The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers should also be confirmed, as well as all the remaining comrades.

Well, comrades, shall we take a recess and then take up these questions? Then, a 20-minute recess.

(Recess).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: We can continue, comrades. I hope that you have now already familiarized yourselves more attentively with the sections of the USSR Constitution which pertain to the activities of the new highest organs of authority and do not perceive violations in the fact that I, as chairman, am continuing to act and to introduce proposals. According to the USSR Constitution, the nominations for the positions I mentioned are submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Regarding the chairman of the Committee for People's Control, you probably recall that I already mentioned this during the information procedure at the meeting of the party group. This was already some time ago and I want to remind you. The information which was given then stimulated discussions during the preliminary procedure and new proposals appeared because of this.

Our current chairman of the Committee for People's Control is Comrade Sergey Iosifovich Manyakin. But he has made a request that he be released in connection with retiring on his pension. And in connection with this, I am submitting for consideration the nomination of Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kolbin. You have the materials on him and I can say a few words in presenting him to you for this position. It seems to us that this selection is a correct one, for we are talking about a person with experience, both from the point of view of vital experience and from the point of view of the performance of important functions in the party and the state. And this is very important. Further, I will talk about him as a person who has initiative and is progressive and principled. What we know about Comrade Kolbin makes it possible for me to confirm this. The comrades from Sverdlovsk, where he spent a significant part of his life, know him very very and he is a man from Sverdlovsk. I remember, when I met him, he was first secretary of the Nizhniy Tagil City Party Committee.

The comrades in Georgia also know him as a person who is very open and attentive. They valued him and even were sorry when we took him away from there. I remember this situation. And even Eduard Amarosiyevich Shevardnadze gave me not just his own good opinion about Kolbin.

Comrade Kolbin had good relations and good contact with the workers of Georgia and did a lot of useful things together with Comrade Shevardnadze.

He worked just as actively, although for a short period of time, in the Ulyanovsk Party Obkom. There we had some very seriously neglected matters and he did a lot of useful things. This is precisely what made it possible, being guided by his vital and party experience and taking into consideration his political and humane qualities, to recommend Kolbin for the position of first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party [CP] Central Committee. I do not want to anticipate the opinion of the comrades from Kazakhstan, they should tell us this and how Comrade Kolbin worked there. Although I have other data and I am being guided precisely by them in introducing my own proposal. Important and amicable work is now being conducted in Kazakhstan. Much there has now been brought to the attention of the people. This pertains to the questions of the foodstuffs complex and housing construction and you know about this. And in the questions of social justice.... To a large extent, this is explained by the principled position of Comrade Kolbin. Therefore, I submit this proposal to you with a clear conscience, believing that it is necessary to have in the USSR Committee for People's Control, in general, a principled, serious, self-reliant person who is devoted to restructuring. It seems to me that the nomination of Comrade Kolbin for this is very suitable.

What questions do you have for me or for Comrade Kolbin? Please.

**Voice from the floor**: During the selection of a candidate for the position of chairman of the USSR Committee for People's Control, what were you guided by primarily? You, of course, are using your own constitutional right, in accordance with the basic law. But did you consider alternative candidates prior to submitting the proposal for discussion here or at the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum?

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I did.

**Voice from the floor**: Can you tell us who your other candidates were, in addition to Kolbin?

**M.S. Gorbachev**: You know, when the question arose about the fact that Comrade Manyakin had decided to retire on his pension, and prior to this he had worked a lot in Siberia, a deserving person.... I then had a lot of thoughts, of course, and, first of all, I started with the fact that, in this instance, we are talking about, in fact, a big position, associated, to put it bluntly, with access to all of society—with control and with the people, for it is through this organization that the people can actually influence the important processes in the country, taking all of society under control. Therefore this question turned out to be complicated, very complicated....

I did not have any conversations with anyone about this, but, perhaps, 10-15 people came up to me: from both Moscow and the secretaries of the republics' Communist Party Central Committees and the secretaries of the obkoms. We also looked at the corps of deputies. Yet, all the same, the selection fell on Comrade Kolbin. The comrades supported me, but then it was still necessary to discuss everything, because we are talking about the secretary of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee.

It seems we found a mutual understanding both with Comrade Kolbin and the comrades from Kazakhstan.

**L.I. Sukhov**, a vehicle driver for the Kharkov Motor Transport Enterprise No 16301, Kharkov (the Kharkovskiy—Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kharkov Oblast): Mikhail Sergeyevich, is not Comrade Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin a suitable candidate for this work? This will also reflect the aspirations of our people. If he is acceptable to you, then I offer this nomination. Thank you.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I should say that we discussed the question with Boris Nikolayevich, but in the context of the actual, so to speak, processes and how they proceed. I talked with him about this, starting with the fact that he should be take part in the normal activities of the Supreme Soviet. And for this, it is necessary to go through this first stage, to remove quite understandable uneasiness or any kinds of conversations or opinions which have arisen around this theme. I asked Boris Nikolayevich to head up the large and important Committee for Questions of Construction and Architecture in the Supreme Soviet. The problems to be solved here are enormous. And they are affecting, as a matter of fact, the development of all sectors of the country.

I asked Boris Nikolayevich to respond to this proposal. And it seems we understood one another. He is a person who is knowledgeable in this matter, he has a lot of suggestions about this and he has already come forward with them. This is also a proposal I had in mind. This is an important committee. As a matter of fact, Boris Nikolayevich will be associated with the entire country, with all the republics and with all the commissions. His position will influence to a large extent the investment policy and so on.

This is the kind of preliminary conversation we had with Boris Nikolayevich and I asked him to agree with this.... Comrade Sukhov, have I answered your question? I told you this so you would be informed.

We are starting with the fact that Boris Nikolayevich should take part actively in the work of the Supreme Soviet. An important and new life is beginning in our upper echelon. But there is still this first: Shall we retain this committee or not? We will examine this question then when we go on also to the selection of its chairman. But now I am talking about this in the preliminary procedure... Please.

**I.A. Zhdakayev**, bulldozer operator for the Pervomaysk Timber Industry Farm, the village of Pervomaysk, Sakhalin Oblast (the Tymovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Sakhalin Oblast): I have a question for Gennadiy Vasilyevich. We know what the events were in 1986 in Kazakhstan. It is possible that everything there now is fine to the degree that everything has been normalized? And is he himself ready to work in the new position? How does he himself feel about this?

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**G.V. Kolbin**, first secretary of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, Alma-Ata (the Prikaspiyskiy Territorial Electoral District, Guryev Oblast): Am I ready to work? A Communist should work wherever he is offered work—be it large or small. This is the first thing.

Second. Regarding the situation in the republic today. Understand me correctly, comrades. Just yesterday, one of our deputies raised a question about those events in Alma-Ata. Let us examine them. The events in December of 1986... Believe me, I had to do a lot to stabilize the atmosphere, to bring the people together and to undertake everything so that the people today are deciding the questions which unite them and not divide them. To a large extent, this was also facilitated by the solution of such problems as the improvement of the food supply, the improvement of the housing problem, the expansion of the output of consumer goods and a whole series of other aspects. And when I tell the esteemed comrade deputies that, over the 3 years since the start of the 5-year plan, in Kazakhstan, the increase in meat consumption per capita amounted to 10 kg, it increased from 58 to 68 kg, then it is probable that these are perceivable results, they are evident there, they are present. This is the first thing.

Second. Regarding the solution of the housing problem. Today, we are receiving, for all practical purposes, very few people, or none at all, who are coming in for this reason, because, over the course of 2 years, the line for housing has been reduced by 41 percent. Over the course of 3 years, it will decrease by 60 percent. Over 5 years, the people will receive housing. The housing program is being settled. This is generating confidence in the people and creating a corresponding mood.

Third. I have not worked alone, but rather, I have worked with associates—comrades in the work in the make-up of the bureau. And I am certain that, today, each of us can be moved to another section of work without this being detrimental to the matter.

With regard to the work of the Committee for People's Control, I have not worked in this system. This is evident from my file, but I was in constant contact, beginning with the work in the Georgian party organization when, after the CPSU Central Committee decree on the Tbilisi Party Gorkom in 1972, I had occasion to work with Comrade Shevardnadze and other party comrades in the republic's party organization. Then an active struggle was going on against all the negative phenomena through the system of the organs of the Party Control Commission. Then the same work was carried out in Ulyanovsk Oblast and in Kazakhstan, although this work has its own special features in each region.

And last. Several years ago, I managed to familiarize myself in a quite detailed manner with the work of the union Committee for People's Control. Then I headed up a commission of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet for checking the success rate of the work of the

USSR Committee for People's Control and gave a report about this at a session of the Supreme Soviet. And now it is possible to trace the course of its work and I am seeing positive changes during the process of the restructuring of the committee's work. To a certain extent, I also have certain desires in the area of improvement of its activities. But I am getting the impression that, in particular, it will be necessary, probably, to change the Law on People's Control in the USSR, taking into account the political reform being carried out and the importance of the functions and enhancing the status of this large organ—the USSR Committee for People's Control. A lot of other questions regarding this are also emerging. This is what I wanted to say in response.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Do you have a question? Please.

**V.A. Shapovalenko**, laboratory chief of the Volga-Ural Scientific Research and Planning Institute for the extraction and processing of hydrogen sulfide-rich gases of the Orenburggazprom Production Association, Orenburg (the Orenburg City Territorial Electoral District, RSFSR): Well, there is no need to conceal the fact that the influence and prestige of people's control, especially locally, have fallen in recent years, in my opinion, to the lowest possible level. And so we, a group of deputies, approached both Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov and, as it were, suggested or, it could be said, recommended and requested that they appoint Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin to this position, knowing that his prestige and influence on the masses would help raise precisely people's control to the proper level. But now, since this matter is no longer worth pursuing—I want to ask you if you have the strength and, if it can be put so, the aggressiveness to raise the influence of people's control to the needed level?

**G.V. Kolbin**: The question has been asked in such a way that I should honestly swear that I will be alive, healthy and overcome everything, but it is impossible to give such assertions. The only thing I can say is that, no matter where I have worked, I have given my all to the work from beginning to end and will do the same if you show me such confidence. With regard to the success rate of the work, I believe it should change.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please, questions.

**Lieutenant Colonel V. S. Podziruk**, senior instructor and navigator-researcher for Military Unit [FPN] 06976, Ivanovo (the Ivanovskiy National Territorial Electoral District, RSFSR): My question concerns what you said about the fact that, if a Communist is sent somewhere, then he should work there. Do you believe that, first and foremost, the Communist's competence should determine his preparedness for work or not?

**G.V. Kolbin**: You put the question approximately so—but do you understand anything in this matter or not? (Commotion in the hall). And to make a statement now to the effect that I have already gotten into all the details of the problem would likely be incorrect. If you consider the fact that I have not dropped in on this cabinet, except for the purpose of a check, the question put sounds to me like—do you really think you are suitable? Well, with regard to my competence... I believe that it is necessary to raise the level of the work of the Committee for People's Control and that the restructuring in the committee's system is proceeding inadequately. This is the first thing.

Second. The experience of the operation of foreign state control committees can not be generalized, there they are state committees. In connection with this, for example, I could cite an example. In England, not a single minister issues a single financial document, instruction or decree until he is visited by a representative of the state control committee: Is he spending the money correctly? This is the picture in many other countries.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Well, the Supreme Soviet will not give you this right.

**G.V. Kolbin**: Yes, Mikhail Sergeyevich, under the leadership of the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium.... But I believe that it is quite possible to share experience with foreign countries in the matter of control organization. There are 150 countries united in a special association, they work in it, exchanging opinions and meeting 3 times a year. I mention this because there may be something useful in the other countries as well and it may be possible to adopt it. And this may help.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Please.

**I.P. Zelinskiy**, rector of the I.I. Mechnikov Odessa State University, Odessa (the Odesskiy—Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Ukrainian SSR): Gennadiy Vasilyevich, I just have a question for you in connection with your last answer. What are the role and the place of people's control or the Committee for People's Control in the system of a law-based government? I believe that now, in connection with the carrying out of political reform and the establishment of the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet, we should be concentrating, first of all, on the work of fulfilling the decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies and of the sessions of the Supreme Soviet and its presidium. I believe that here is where there should be contacts between the people's control organs and the Supreme Soviet's commissions and committees. It is necessary to make thorough analysis on the individual questions so that documents based on them, ranging right up to draft laws, might appear.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Next, please.

**A.A. Genchev**, senior engineer and flight safety inspector from the Petrozavodsk aviation enterprise, Petrozavodsk (the Oktyabrskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Karelian ASSR): The people expect from us, all the same, competitive elections, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

The party prepared the people for this. But now we are examining and will elect everyone with only one nominee. How will our elections take place? We will not be having elections, but rather, appointments. Those nominations which you propose, we will talk about and discuss and amicably raise our cards. It seems to me that the Central Committee should, all the same, since we have one ruling and controlling party, offer 2, 3 or 4 candidates so that we could discuss them and see the alternative. We are not having elections at a!!, but rather, appointments.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: What proposals do you have?

**A.A. Genchev**: I, you understand, do not know the candidates whom you know, but you are selecting the team yourself. Perhaps, all the same, you should put forth other candidates as well, instead of, here is one person and we will vote on his nomination.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: One is necessary, just one. Please.

**A.V. Grib**, a furnace worker from the furnace shop of the Zaporozhstal Metallurgical Combine, Zaporozhye (the Zaporozhskiy—Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Ukrainian SSR): Gennadiy Vasilyevich, tell me, please, what are the basic principles by which you will be guided if we elect you chairman of the Committee for People's Control?

**G.V. Kolbin**: With regard to the basic principles: There is the carrying out of the economic reform in such a manner that the economic system will be drawn closer to the solution of social problems to a greater degree. This is the first thing.

Second. From the point of view of the measures for exerting influence. I believe that, at the present time, the basic measure available to the Committee for People's Control is the administrative one. It would probably be necessary to enhance the role of economic influence. The committee we have today is both a state and a people's committee. But it operates to a greater degree as a people's committee. It would be necessary, in my opinion, to think about intensifying the accents with respect to the state system and state approaches. These are the basic principle as I see them now. But, comrades, I repeat once again that, in order to be able to respond to the many questions about such a plan, it is necessary to become a little bit familiar with the affairs also.

**V.A. Volkov**, party committee secretary from the M. I. Kalinin Sverdlovsk Machine Building Plant, Sverdlovsk (the Ordzhonikidzenskiy Territorial Electoral District, RSFSR): Gennadiy Vasilyevich, one of the most painful questions for our society is the question of social justice. How do you intend to solve it within the framework of the Committee for People's Control?

**G.V. Kolbin**: Here there are two questions. In order to ensure social justice in distribution, it is necessary that there be something to distribute, otherwise, there will be no justice al all. Therefore, the question of increasing production, in accordance with the constitutional provisions, needs to be solved by the Committee for People's Control. With regard directly to the question of social justice, I believe that it should be observed strictly, regardless of any provisions. I suspect we are talking about privileges—it is impossible, really, to examine something here, to look into it attentively and unseat someone for the fact that the person, supposedly, is enjoying privileges illegally. I believe that there was in Mikhail Segeyevich Gorbachev's report a very good-sounding proposal regarding the establishment of a special commission on privileges, which would look into everything with respect to this matter. Authorized privileges must not be considered a violation, but rather, unauthorized ones, obtained through a violation, need to be eliminated through the application of the corresponding measures.

I will not conceal from you, comrades, that I have read the stenographic records on the sittings of the congress, the speeches at it and the replies. Many people are expressing ideas, for example, about placing the institutions of the Ministry of Health's Fourth Adminstration under the children's institutions. I believe that this is outside the scope of the Committee for People's Control and within that of the commission which will be established by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

If you are checking into the soundness of my position in questions of social justice, I can only say that I have had occasion to be involved in this area for nearly 9 years in Georgia, 3 years in Ulyanovsk and now in Kazakhstan.

I stated that there should be different approaches as well in different regions. In Kazakhstan, for example, we followed this principle. The people should have known—an uncompromising struggle is being conducted against the organizers of abuses—they will be made to account to the fullest measure. With regard to those whom these organizers, through their own higher position, involved in the criminal activities, and they, the involved persons, put a little in their own pockets and gave a little to the chief, we announced this principle—everyone should return voluntarily what was obtained illegally. At the same time, the punishment measure was set up so that it would not involve imprisonment, taking into consideration the large families in Kazakhstan—it is necessary for someone to raise the children. And I should inform you, comrades, that, just during 1987 alone, without the agitation of a criminal case, 17,000 people came forward with an admission of guilt and voluntarily turned over to the state banks R12 million.

I believe that we should combine strictness of observance of social justice with reasonable measures of a humane nature under the conditions of restructuring. (Applause).

**S.M. Ryabchenko**, laboratory chief of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences' Physics Institute, Kiev (Moskovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Ukrainian SSR): Gennadiy Vasilyevich, how do you propose to combine the activities of the All-Union Committee for People's Control with the regional and republic committees for people's control? Are you assuming that the All-Union Committee should control only those questions which pertain to the activities of the federal organ or should it also get involved in those questions which are within the scope of the republics?

**G.V. Kolbin**: Here it is necessary, apparently, to look into it again, but the basic principle is already being established. At present, until we elected the Supreme Soviet and established its commissions, the principle was that the Committee for People's Control operated under three organs—the USSR Council of Ministers, where it was, by rights, a separate department subordinate to the Council of Ministers, under the Soviet organ to which it was subordinate and under the local party organ. And, as a result, it did not amount to much.

Now, this principle is taking shape unambiguously: The Committee for People's Control should operate under the leadership of the Supreme Soviet—you, the presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the presidium of the Council of Ministers. Correspondingly, the work of its organs should be organized on the regional scale under the leadership of the similar organs. There should be communication between us—the central, regional and republic organs. This is how I picture the organization of the work. But how to set it up and how to control it? It is probably impossible to do it administratively. Here it is necessary to look again and think about it. From the point of view of the selection and placement of personnel, there will absolutely be such communication. It is difficult for me to talk about all the details now, but there should be such approaches. Please.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrade Medvedev, please.

**R.A. Medvedev**, a writer, Moscow (the Voroshilovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Moscow, RSFSR): I should say that I was not entirely pleased by the answer of Comrade Kolbin, who has been recommended for the position of chairman of the Committee for People's Control: that the party recommended him and the party will place him in this position, and he is supposed to submit to the decision of the party. All the same, we should made the Committee for People's Control a more independent organ, which should operate, primarily, according to the dictates of its conscience and in conformity with state interests and the demands of the people. And I got the impression that we will not have such independence with this leader. I would never recommend Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin for chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers—I do not think he has enough of the right qualities for this. We have a ruling party and no opposition and I believe that we do not need an opposition party. But, all the same, some element of opposition is necessary and it may be represented in the Committee for People's Control. Therefore, although I have a lot against Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin—he is too cocky and too often criticizes what, perhaps, should not be criticized—but the Committee for People's Control should have just this type of leader. Therefore, I also go along with the proposal to elect Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin chairman of the USSR Committee for People's Control.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Ask your questions of Comrade Kolbin. Please.

**From the floor**: This is my question. The weak link in the organs of people's control, as we all know, are the local organs, the people's control groups and posts. If the Supreme Soviet confirms you for the position of chairman of the USSR Committee for People's Control, how do you intend to improve their work?

**G.V. Kolbin**: Comrades, there are very few weak links, including the local link, today, we have a lot of controllers: from the Komsomol, from the trade union, and from other organizations. Now, the soviets of the labor collectives have appeared. I believe that we should find a reasonable form for combining the activities of the labor collectives' soviets with the Committee for People's Control and the people's control posts and groups.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**N.M. Piryazeva**, construction electrician from the Novosibirsk Sibselmash [Siberian agricultural machinery] Production Association, Novosibirsk (The Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Novosibirsk Oblast, RSFSR): Esteemed Gennadiy Vasilyevich! Mikhail Sergeyevich has presented you now as an active fighter for restructuring. In connection with this, this is my question: How do you regard your speech at the 19th all-union party conference, did it correspond to the course taken by the conference—toward democratization, glasnost, and renewal?

**G.V. Kolbin**: In my speech at the 19th party conference, I adhered to the idea that restructuring should carry with it specific results. And I mentioned the fact that, for the year's totals, we will provide a per capita meat consumption increase of 10 kg and a whole series of other points. This result was achieved. And everything which was stated in that speech was confirmed. A view was also expressed with respect to the actions of the informal organizations and initiative groups. A very large number of them have been established in our country now. But a system is also operating whereby each organization registers itself and its own orientation program with the corresponding Soviet organ. There is freedom of action, but there is also a controlled, equitable exchange of opinions. Everything which was presented in the speech at the 19th party conference is being confirmed in Kazakhstan.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**From the floor**: Excuse me, but I have a question not for Gennadiy Vasilyevich, but rather, for you, Mikhail Sergeyevich. A question concerning the candidates presented to us. Today, of the five presented candidates (I am speaking as a deputy and as a doctor), three persons are of pension age. It seems to me that there should be a rejuvenation going on in the management organs. Your opinion about this?

**M.S. Gorbachev**: I do not see any big causes for concern here. All are performing important work. I think that there is no problem here. Please.

**A.R. Atadzhanov**, first deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Uzbek SSR State Planning Committee, Tashkent (the Chartakskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Uzbek SSR): Gennadiy Vasilyevich, we have in our country, in addition to the rayon, city, oblast, republic and national committees for people's control, a whole series of other controlling organs. And it often happens that these controlling organs stand in line in order to check some enterprise or klokhoz. There are too many, it seems, of these controlling organs. Sometimes, there are 40 or 50 checks a year at each enterprise. And they all operate according to their own approved plans and no one goes outside the framework of the charts. How do you view the coordination of the activities of these controlling organs (as the possible chairman of the Committee for People's Control) and how do you view, in general, the activities of people's control under the conditions of the operation of enterprises using cost accounting and under the conditions of their independence?

**G.V. Kolbin**: Here there should be various approaches. During the process of the work in the Supreme Soviet, we have also had these problems arise. We have up to 40 ministries and department carrying out interdepartmental checks. This is in addition to the Committee for People's Control. Such systems as Gosgortekhnadzor [state mining inspection], the Ministry of Finance and a whole series of other organizations.... Does this mean that it is necessary to join them all together? Moreover, there is another series of controlling organs in each ministry and department. The question arises—how do we proceed here? It is probable that each minister should have his own controller, who would regularly carry out inspections.

I believe that the union Committee for People's Control, just like the similar local subdivisions, should work out the question not of the uniting of all the controlling organs into a single entity (this is my opinion), but rather, of the specific coordination of the work.

Now, in Kazakhstan, this has been done. The controlling organs have already been operating according to this scheme for a year now. What are the results? Well, it is probably impossible to say that they are louder, but we are noticing positive changes.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**M.A. Chepurvaya**, organizer of educational work outside the classroom and the school from the Popovka Secondary School, Konotopskiy Rayon, the village of Popovka (the Konotopskiy Territorial Electoral District, Sumy Oblast, Ukrainian SSR): Gennadiy Vasilyevich, do you not believe that, by leaving the position of first secretary of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, you will thereby weaken the republic's leadership? You have been working as first secretary of the Central Committee since 1986 and have you already managed to train a successor over this period of time, if you intend to leave the position?

**G.V. Kolbin**: I have already answered this question. And I will state frankly that there can not be a situation where the republic can not find worthy candidates. They existed even before me. I can say with confidence that, today, the amicable work of the republic's organs makes it possible for Kazakhstan to provide a solution for both the social questions and for many others. And it inspires the firm certainty that there is an adequate selection of leaders.

**S.M. Katilevskiy**, a blacksmith from the Voroshilovgradteplovoz [diesel locomotives] Production Association, Voroshilovgrad (The Voroshilovgradskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Ukrainian SSR): Gennadiy Vasilyevich, I have a question for you about such a plan. Somewhat earlier, you talked about enhancing the role and the significance of the committees of people's control. In connection with this, tell me: What is your personal attitude toward raising the wages of the people's controller, beginning with the rayon, city and oblast committees of people's control and do you tie this "increase in significance" with an increase in the wages for the committees' associates? Thank you.

**G.V. Kolbin**: If I were to raise this question right now, then, I am afraid, Mikhail Sergeyevich would not recommend me for this position. But I am just joking. With regard to the actual state of affairs, of course, I know quite well that the wages here are low and it is difficult to get a qualified controller. The staff comes basically from a number of people who have been working in other systems and who, for one reason or another, are carrying, as it were, a lightened load. This is what foreign experience is talking about in this plan. In 17 countries, there are special scientific center, which train controller personnel and state controllers, who receive higher wages and can, naturally, conduct a check in a more skilled manner and present materials with an analysis. This question, of course, needs to be thought over.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**A.A. Sobchak**, head of the law department of Leningrad State University, Leningrad (Vasileostrovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Leningrad, RSFSR): Esteemed Gennadiy Vasilyevich, you just proudly cited a figure—R12

million—which the criminals turned over. Do you understand that you struck a specific deal with the criminals and that you received your own kind of specific ransom from them? And it may be that, having turned in 12 million, at the same time, they may have kept for themselves 120 million or some other amount? And, in connection with this: Do you intend, as chairman of the Committee for People's Control, to continue this practice? (Applause and noise in the hall).

**G.V. Kolbin**: What can I say—that those who took, shared with me—they shorted me?... This is probably not in earnest....

**From the floor**: Not in this plan.

**G.V. Kolbin**: Comrades, Let us talk candidly. These people stole and then came with an admission of guilt and turned over what had been stolen. This had never happened before in our history. Well, I, at least, do not know when it happened that so much was turned over.

I would like to cite an example. Karavayev, the minister of motor transport, committed large-scale embezzlement and took bribes... There should have been 900 people sent to jail. So, was it necessary to imprison 900 people along with the minister. Probably not.

With regard to my approaches (if you elect me chairman of the Committee for People's Control), I would proceed as follows: It is necessary to increase the degree of economic responsibility and to increase it against what there is now and consolidate with a law. But, with respect to all the other administrative measures, it is necessary to look them over. Why am I saying that it is necessary to look them over? Today, a committee or commission of the Supreme Soviet will be appointed to discuss and give tis conclusions to the minister, to another worker. And the Committee for People's Control (in spite of this committee or commission) will be removed from the work? This is incorrect. We should get away from administrative methods. This is the approach....

**From the floor**: Gennadiy Vasilyevich, then answer all the same: Who, then, will decide specifically—who goes to prison and who does not?

**G.V. Kolbin**: If the law (taking into consideration, of course, the compensation for the inflicted damage) permits us to not imprison a person, then this is what is done. But, in any case, it is necessary to carry out the decision of the court.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: The court decides.

**G.V. Kolbin**: Yes. It is not like this is what Kolbin decided and immediately everything is settled, no, this is not how it is done.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Are there more questions? Comrade Bocharov.

**M.A. Bocharov**, director of the Butovskiy Construction Materials Combine, Moscow (the Sovetskiy Territorial Electoral District, Moscow): Gennadiy Vasilyevich! Well, first, by way of reply—this is my personal opinion—I think that, if we talk about the chairman of the Committee for People's Control and we understand that we should go on to a law-based state and there should not be any voluntarism here. This is by way of reply. Second, by way of explanation, I would like to get an answer to this question. I do not recall which of the deputies said it and you responded roughly that one of the functions of the Committee for People's Control involves personnel questions. Should we understand this to mean that the appointment of the chairmen and other officials of the committees of people's control will occur through the USSR Committee for People's Control or through the republics' supreme soviets?

**G.V. Kolbin**: I think that there should be mutual agreement during the selection of personnel and candidates.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**From the floor**: Gennadiy Vasilyevich, many of the deputies, as well as our constituents, especially the service for the protection of mothers and children, are interested in the question about when, in our country, the departmental control over ecological glasnost will be eliminated. Particularly in the sense of the radiation situation—both from Chernobyl and from the Semipalatinsk Test Range. Please, how is the Committee for People's Control planning to handle the solution of this question?

**G.V. Kolbin**: I have already mentioned the fact that, in addition to the Committee for People's Control, there are around 40 more departments which carry out control. They include the Committee for the Protection of Nature and the sanitation and epidemiological stations of the Ministry of Health, which handle precisely these problems. The task of the committee is the coordination of activities. These questions need to be thought out: How to coordinate without messing up the work.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Are there more questions, comrades? Please.

**V.V. Yakushkin**, a teacher from the Secondary Vocational-Technical School No 147, Vitebsk. (The Vitebskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Belorussian SSR): We have a Committee for People's Control and there is a Party Control Committee. What do you think about interacting and will you interact with this committee?

**G.V. Kolbin**: They should have different functions: The Party Control Committee is a person's party conscience, while the Committee for People's Control have slightly different functions—there is the struggle against mismanagement and the struggle for the introduction of economic reform....

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Please.

**V.A. Nozdrya**, team leader of fitters of the production association of the S. Ordzhonikidze Sevastopol Naval Plant, Sevastopol (the Sevastopolskiy Territorial Electoral District, Crimean Oblast): First, I respect the opinion of our chairman regarding the presented candidate. However, permit me to not agree with it, because I have my own opinion and that of my constituents. All the same, it is Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. I propose that his nomination also be discussed.

And one more question—I do not know if it should be for the chairman or for Gennadiy Vasilyevich. If you are now appointed chairman of the Committee for People's Control, this will already be the third such important position in 6 years. Tell me, please: While you were secretary of the Ulyanovsk Party Obkom and secretary of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee—3 years in each position—did you do everything well there? Or not so well and, therefore, you left there after this period? (I do not know if the question should be to you or to Mikhail Sergeyevich). Why did you leave so quickly?

**G.V. Kolbin**: What can I say about this? It is impossible to do everything well completely in such a republic as Kazakhstan. But, during this brief period, there occurred (I managed to achieve with the help of my comrades in the work) noticeable changes in a number of specific, and I would say, priority directions, which were specified by both the 19th party conference and the June Central Committee plenum. Are there possibilities for going farther? There are. Many. This is the answer to this question.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Please, your question.

**N.V. Yefimov**, team leader of fitters from the Vyksa Construction and Installation Administration of the specialized Stalkonstruktsiya Trust, Vyksa (the Arzamasskiy Territorial Electoral District, Gorkiy Oblast): I would like to know the opinion of Deputy Yeltsin about whether he believes it would be possible for him to participate in the work of the Committee for People's Control as its chairman. If the answer is affirmative, I ask that his nomination be included in the voting. (Applause).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**V.Ya. Stadnik**, shop chief from the Lukhovitsy Machine Building Plant, Lukhovitsy (the Kolomenskiy Territorial Electoral District, Moscow Oblast): I support fully the first proposal, Mikhail Sergeyevich. And this is my question for you, Gennadiy Vasilyevich. It may turn out that the Supreme Soviet will make one decision and this decision will not coincide with the opinion of the Central Committee and the Politburo. How would you deal with such a situation?

**G.V. Kolbin**: The Supreme Soviet makes one decision and the Central Committee another?

**V.Ya. Stadnik**: There will be some such situation. The Supreme Soviet and the Central Committee will have different points of view.

**G.V. Kolbin**: I will tell you straight out. People's control operates under the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, the presidum of the Supreme Soviet and the presidium of the Council of Ministers.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrade Bisher, please.

**I.O. Bisher**, a professor from the P. Stuchka Latvian State University, Riga (the Stuchkinskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Latvian SSR): I wanted to clarify one question which arose after your response. You said that the chairman of the Committee for People's Control of a union republic will be confirmed by an agreement. We would like to know the process of this agreement. If we also in our soviet, after the corresponding debates, like here, appoint a chairman of the Committee for People's Control, then what: He will go from our Supreme Soviet to you, Gennadiy Vasilyevich, for confirmation? What do you think?

**G.V. Kolbin**: Please do not distort things. This is incorrect. Are you supposed to be confirmed in people's control or where? Or did I not understand your question then?

**I.O. Bisher**: This is within the scope of the republic, according to our constitution, but you presented the matter in such a way that we need to subject our appointment to agreement. How do you view the process of this agreement?

**G.V. Kolbin**: I see no sin in the fact that the chairman of the union Committee for People's Control displays an interest in who will head up the republic comittee. Just as you are displaying interest today. Is this really prohibited?

**From the floor**: Interest is one thing and agreement is another.

**From the floor**: Gennadiy Vasilyevich, the question asked was, what will you do if a disagreement arises in the solving of certain questions in the Committee for People's Control and the Party Control Committee. In his own time, in 1923, Vladimir Ilich proposed the following way out of such situations. He proposed the establishment of a higher joint state-party control organ which would control the activities of both the higher soviet and the higher party management organs. What do you think about this?

**G.V. Kolbin**: I believe that, at this stage, conflicts will not arise, taking into consideration the different functions of these organs.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. We have finished with the questions. Please be seated, Gennadiy Vasilyevich.

Now, let us exchange opinions. Who wants to take the floor? Please.

**S.V. Voykov**, team leader of the fitters from Mechanized Column No 154 of the Bamstroymekhanizatsiya [Baykal-Amur Highway construction mechanization] Trust, Aldan (the Aldanskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Yakut ASSR): I believe that the nomination of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin needs to be included without his consent. I say this because, and I do not want to be suspicious of anyone, but, all the same, we do have the concept of party discipline. Understand me correctly: I am not saying that he was somehow pressured. It seems to me that we are placing him in a awkward situation, yet, all the same, we should leave this nomination as an alternative.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Who else wants to take the floor? Please.

**V.I. Voskoboynikov**, flight mechanic of an MI-8 helicopter from the 25th Flight Unit of the Novyy Urengoy Combined Air Detachment, Novyy Urengoy (The Novoyrengoyskiy Territorial Electoral District, Tyumen Oblast): I felt apprehension about that place in Gennadiy Vasilyevich's speech, where he said that he is agreeable to the position into which the party had placed him. This has already been mentioned here repeatedly by the deputies, they emphasized this point and I will also emphasize the same point. I believe that, with such a formulation of the question and the views held by Gennadiy Vasilyevich, he will obey the decisions of the party, yet, all the same, our committee is a people's committee. It has already been expressed here that this is a contradiction. I want to draw attention to this and I can not trust a person in such a situation. I believe that, in fact, there should be a person here who is capable of clearly expressing his own point of view and I support those proposals which have been made regarding the nomination of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**I.B. Shamshev**, senior instructor from the Yaroslavl State University, Yaroslavl (the Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Yaroslavl Oblast): I support those comrades who have come forth with the proposal about the appointment of Comrade Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin to this position. I believe that this is a person with a wealth of political experience and an independent position, a person who has shown his worth in the struggle against Moscow's corruption and the mafia. This person is widely popular among the people, practically all of Moscow voted for him, he was nominated in more than 100 districts across the country and it is necessary to take this reality into consideration. It has already been mentioned at the congress, more than once, that we should give this person an adequate opportunity to display his own potential. Inclusion in this work will give him the opportunity to realize this potential in a practical manner. I think that this appointment will be greeted with gratitude and enthusiasm by many voters in our Soviet Union and, in particular, by the voters in my district. Thank you. (Applause).

**From the floor**: Esteemed deputies, I also, for example, support this proposal, but, unfortunately, according to the existing USSR Constitution, we do not have the right to nominate and recommend. Only the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet has the right to nominate and recommend to us. (Therefore, our task may be only to vote down the nomination recommended by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Then he presents a second nomination. We can also vote it down, and do so until we elect or appoint someone else). According to Article 121, for the time being, only the chairman has the right of nomination. I, of course, also support the proposal expressed by the comrades with respect to Yeltsin. This sector of work is very serious and Yeltsin has a certain independence and his own opinion, even under the conditions of the one-party system.

**From the floor**: I do not want to offer a candidate here, but this is what alarms me: From the answers to the questions, I got the impression that Gennadiy Vasilyevich does not have a clear concept of the functions of the Committee for People's Control and the interaction of the federal Committee for People's Control with the republic ones. A number of questions about the legal backing of the activities of people's control were not satisfied for me in his answers. And, generally speaking, even the very formulation of the matter was not satisfactory, such as when he says: I will do everything, no matter where I am sent. It seems to me that a person who is supposed to head up such an organ should first think things out and offer us his own concept of the activities of this organ. From this point of view, I, for example, can not now vote for the nomination of Gennadiy Vasilyevich with a clear conscience. It seems to me that we should now either set this matter aside or instruct someone, preferably some jurists, to work out the proposals from the Supreme Soviet on the functions of this committee with the participation of the possible candidates for the role of chairman and, after we have sized up the functions of this committee and the concept of its chairman, only after this can we confirm the candidate.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Please, anyone else?

**From the floor**: It is simple. There is the Law on People's Control and this is what they need to be guided by. Everything is there: the concept, the functions and all the rest.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Please.

**K.A. Shopanayev**, team leader of the integrated brigade of Construction and Installation Administration No 17 of the Alma-Atakultbytstroy [cultural and community

construction] Trust (Alma-Atinskiy—Sovetskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kazakh SSR): I do not know, comrade deputies, it seems to me, it is impossible, without knowing a person, to judge his practical affairs. I am a construction worker, I know little of him, starting with 1986, but you know how matters unfolded in the republic. Enormous changes. Why judge a person if you do not know about his personal qualities?

I trust Gennadiy Vasilyevich completely and I think that he justifies this high degree of trust. My opinion is to vote for him.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Anyone else? Please.

**Ye. Rakhmadiyev**, a composer and first secretary of the board of the Kazakhstan Union of Composers (The Arkalykskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Kazakh SSR): Dear friends! I understand what a responsible period of our lives we are experiencing. Naturally, each of us, the elected representatives of the people, want to elect today to the responsible positions of our country people who are worthy and responsible.

I also have known Gennadiy Vasilyevich since 1986. But his humane and party qualities have been characterized in detail by Mikhail Sergeyevich, to whom we have all unanimously shown our trust, and it seems to me, we should regard with understanding the nominations presented by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and correctly perceive this question. But any of us, any specialist, if we put questions from all sides in that area with which he is just beginning to deal, not everyone can be completely competent and seem completely adequately convincing.

I have know Gennadiy Vasilyevich since the first day of his appearance in the leadership of the party organization in Kazakhstan. I am not a party worker, I am a cultural figure, but, nevertheless, those changes which occurred in the republic, they have absolutely pleased us. Today, I came up to this rostrum in order to say that we support his nomination.

Mikhail Seregeyevich, you have not mentioned the fact that a commission was consequently formed in all the republics and in the CPSU Central Committee—the Commission for Ethnic and Interethnic Relations, in general, was begun in our republic and its initiator was Gennadiy Vasilyevich. It seems to me, in this, precisely even in this act, the foundations were laid, so to speak, for the drawing together of the peoples and this establishes a profound party position on the improvement of mutual relations between the peoples and ethnic groups populating our country.

Gennadiy Vasilyevich is a person full of initiative and what he said from this rostrum, this is all actually reality. I support the nomination of Gennadiy Vasilyevich. I did not coordinate this opinion with the deputies from Kazakhstan, but I think that they will subscribe to it. I came not only to characterize him as a party figure, but also as a person who regard very humanely and very seriously all the problems of the republic and the people inhabiting it.

I would support the proposal of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, regarding Comrade Kolbin.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please, you asked for the floor.

**From the floor**: I know Gennadiy Vasilyevich as a member of the CPSU Central Committee and he is a genuine internationalist. He came to the republic at a time which was complicated for the Kazakh people. Over a brief period of time, he was able to earn prestige and recognition by his own simplicity and affability, through which, from the first steps, he began to assert social justice in the republic. He devoted and is devoting a lot of effort and time to the strengthening of friedship and the carrying out of the principled party policy in the area of interethnic relations. He was able to do a lot to solve the housing problem and the foodstuffs program. But the most important thing is that I like him—and I am making my judgment about this from his own work in the Central Committee—he is a modest person, principled and decent.

On behalf of our Kirghiz Republic deputies group, I support the nomination of Comrade Kolbin and I ask all the deputies to support us.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**A.M. Masaliyev**, first secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee (The Issyk-Kulskiy Territorial Electoral District, Kirghiz SSR): Esteemed comrades, we live next door to Gennadiy Vasilyevich. I have known him prior to the work in Kazakhstan as a principled person. As Mikhail Sergeyevich characterized it, this, indeed, matches his work and his approach to matters. Over the 3 years since his arrival, we have established close ties and removed many barriers—Kazakhstan and Kirghizia, which border each other, have a common history and culture, but previously, we never met at the level of the republic and oblast leaders. Comrade Kolbin, at the same time, approaches a matter in a principled manner and is carrying out important work. We are now solving with Kazakhstan all problems amicably and collectively and I believe, comrades, it is precisely such a person who can head up the USSR Committee for People's Control. He has worked in various regions, has a wealth of party experience and is implementing a principled approach to the solution of questions and the fact that we are setting Comrades Yeltsin and Kolbin against each other, I think, is incorrect. We need to believe Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who introduced the proposal for the consideration of the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet. If there are any kinds of objections against Comrade Kolbin, then it is necessary to state them. I personally

believe that Comrade Kolbin justifies this high degree of trust. We will vote for him. This will, indeed, be a real chairman of the Committee for People's Control.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**A.D. Menshatov**, director of the Azinskiy State Thoroughbred Stud Farm of the Chernushinskiy Rayon (the Chaykovskiy Territorial Electoral District, Perm Oblast): Even Lenin, in his own concept of people's control, stated that nothing in the state can be above this. Therefore, today, I want to draw your attention to these words. I understand Kolbin and he is well remembered also in Ulyanovsk, but, in industry, a pensioner is not replaced with a pensioner. Therefore, I believe that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is quite worthy of this high degree of trust. And today, if there is a choice, and there should be, I believe that, from this vote, the party will get important prestige, if there is just such a direct election. This is my proposal. That this candidate also be in the elections. And here, everything will be correctly understandable, if the people elect Kolbin—fine, if they elect Yeltsin—fine. This will be a choice.

**From the floor**: (Inaudible).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**S.V. Vasilyev**, an instructor from the Tyumen State University (the Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Tyumen Oblast): I also do not doubt the fact that Gennadiy Vasilyevich is a thoroughly decent and principled person, one of those party workers who are actually carrying out restructuring today in our country. But we have already been sitting one day and we are not proposing a second candidate just for fun, but rather, so that, in fact, the people actually have a sense of restructuring and actually have a feeling of the possibility of a selection. And the situation taking shape in the country today is such that a choice is necessary and particularly during the election for the position of chairman of the Committee for People's Control. And I propose including Comrade Yeltsin on the list for the vote.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrade Dikul, please.

**V.I. Dikul**, director of the Center for the Rehabilitation for Patients with Spinal Trauma and with the Consequences of Infantile Cerebral Paralysis (the Krasnogvardeyskiy Territorial Electoral District, Moscow): Mikhail Sergeyevich, I have a question for you. Are you acting in a party manner? An awful lot of representatives from Kazakhstan have just come forward and commended the fact that he has made very big changes for the better there and he moved out, as they say, a lot of the stagnation from the place. So why take such a person away from them? Let us allow him to finish what he started. (Applause). And I doubt that, as he said, his equal is to be found there now. As always, whenever a person takes on new obligations and becomes thoroughly familiar with them, this is when he stops the matter which he himself promoted.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Comrade Shekhovtsov, please.

**V.A. Shekhovtsov**, assistant dean of the Law Department of the Far Eastern State University (the Vladivostokskiy Territorial Electoral District, Primorskiy Kray): Undoubtedly, Gennadiy Vasilyevich is a very worthy person and we know him from specific affairs. But we know that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is, perhaps, the only person in the Politburo, who had the courage to say the truth in public. Although this truth, you yourselves understand, is not always pleasing. I propose, Mikhail Sergeyevich, that you display adherence to principles and trust the country's Supreme Soviet, the highest organ of legislative power, only the congress is above it, and offer us two candidates. Let this be your proposal. Trust us and, from the two candidates, we will name the one requested by the people to the position of chairman of the Committee for People's Control.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**V.D. Yudin**, chief of the Central Geochemical Party of the Central Geophysical Expedition of the Northeast Geological Production Association (the Magadanskiy Territorial Electoral District, Magadan Oblast): I want to dwell on certain questions. I think I would not be mistaken in saying that an awful lot of the country's inhabitants associate the realization truly of party policy with the name of Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kolbin. But I want to draw attention to this fact: We are making out of the elections process, in my opinion, something not quite natural. Indeed, if there are two candidates—we offend no one when we elect one of the two. Here today, many of the voters are being placed into this situation: If they are against Kolbin, then, as it were, they do not understand him. But, in fact, this is not so. In fact, it is necessary for each job that the person be developed for this job. Gennadiy Vasilyevich's answers to the questions convince me that he has not been developed precisely for this job and if we put the question like this, then it will not be offensive for him if we do not elect him and everything will be understandable for us. Therefore, I call on you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, in the future, to offer us more candidates, because, today, in offering us only one candidate, you are placing us into a very difficult position. Look at the kinds of reasons the deputies are advancing: Since Mikhail Sergeyevich has decided, we should trust him. We expressed our own trust in you when we voted for your nomination, but, subsequently, we are obligated to express our own point of view. This is both our right and our duty. Give us an opportunity to perform our duty to the electorate. (Applause).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Please.

**E.Yu. Yusupov**, vice president of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences (From the All-Union Society for Knowledge): Mikhail Sergeyevich, there are people who talk very poorly, but work very good, but there are people who talk beautifully and are very able to attract an audience to themselves, but work very poorly. In this respect, comrades, I am not from Kazakhstan, I am from the All-Union Society for Knowledge, but with respect to Kolbin, we have a very high opinion. What Comrade Kolbin did in Kazakhstan over 3 years is very beautiful work, although he always talks about himself very plainly. Therefore, I think that, with respect to the business-like qualities of Comrade Kolbin, there can not be any kinds of conversations. He is honest, decent, competent in all management matters and competent in questions of the economic system. It would have been impossible to lift up straight away the republic, which was in a complicated position, without knowing the economic system. Not a single republic of Central Asia has had the successes which Kazakhstan has had over the recent years. Therefore, here there should be a person who is able not only to talk beautifully at meetings and to attract an audience—it should also be a person who is competent and has a clean soul. In this respect, Comrade Kolbin is a person of principle, competent in the matter, who understands very well the problems of the economic system and the problems of control. (Applause).

**V.K. Prokushev**, PRAVDA correspondent for the Bashkir ASSR, Ufa (the Sovetskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Bashkir ASSR): We today are confirming and electing five comrades to very responsible positions. I placed their files in front of me and one detail caught my attention. Two of them graduated from the Ural Polytechnical Institute in Sverdlovsk and one the Sverdlovsk Juridical Institute. Then, when the people got firmly established, they began to work together. This was in the seventies.

Comrade Kolbin worked as the secretary of the Sverdlovsk Party Obkom. During these years, Comrade Ryzhkov worked as general director of Uralmash. Comrade Smolentsev worked then as chairman of the Sverdlovsk District Court. Are we not electing today to these responsible leadership positions people according to the principle of association and personal trust and will this not harm our business? Perhaps, we should think about alternative selections?

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Please.

**A.A. Korshunov**, team leader from the V.P. Chkalov Tashkent Aviation Production Association, Tashkent (From the USSR Trade Unions): Comrade chairman, comrade deputies! It should be said first that an awful lot of what I heard and once even saw, in general, about Boris Nikolayevich, did not impress me, and I should say this now, here, frankly and clearly. But I should also say something else.

At our first Congress of People's Deputies, a great event occurred. Corrected was (first of all, I believe this is a display of the wisdom of the country's president) a mistake, which had been committed. I am saying this aloud and of this I am convinced: The error of the October CPSU Central Committee Plenum 2 and a half years ago and of the March (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, when they dealt incorrectly with a person who had the courage to express his own opinion. It is true, with a person not unquestionable, a person who, in general, has an inclination toward self-advertisement at meetings, but they dealt with him, in general, in an indecent manner. And thank you, Comrade Gorbachev, I tell you this from many of my own constituents, who called me and said it aloud, individually and in groups. The error has been corrected in this plan. And I think, Mikhail Sergeyevich, it will be one more great victory of our democracy if you, as the country's president (precisely you—the constitution gives only you the right to do this), put forward two candidates. Trust the country's Supreme Soviet, it will make its own selection. In this instance, I believe, this will be the most correct step. (Applause).

**N.I. Ignatovich**, special investigator from the Belorussian SSR Procuracy, Minsk (the Minskiy—Zavodskiy National Territorial Electoral District, Belorussian SSR): Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kolbin is widely known in our country and I would vote for him if it were not for this story about the 17 million. In fact, this was nothing other than a declaration of amnesty, which is not within the authority of this person and organ and which is not in conformity with the USSR Constitution. Moreover, this was to influence the investigative and court organs for the purpose of solving investigative matters. All this is incompatible with a law-based government and I am not convinced that Gennadiy Vasilyevich would not permit similar incompatible actions in the work he is being nominated for. Therefore, I am abstaining from voting.

**Yu.V. Neyelov**, chairman of the executive committee [ispolkom] of the Surgutskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, Surgut (the Surgutskiy Territorial Electoral District, Tyumen Oblast): It seems to me that we will never have an end to this discussion. Many of us, in general, do not have anything against Gennadiy Vasilyevich. I believe that everything will fall into place if we carefully listen to the position of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. I believe it is absolutely necessary to listen to him and everything will fall into place.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrades, apparently, it is possible to stop at this point and examine where we find ourselves as a result of the discussion. Here the comrades have correctly defined the matter, although they make no claims to being jurists and important specialists. It is true that I felt that, in this instance (I have always asked him to give advice), Comrade Sobchak began maneuvering. It is not necessary to maneuver. The proposals for all these people (according to the USSR Constitution) are introduced by the chairman of the USSR Supreme

Soviet. You can accept his proposals or not. And return me, so to speak, to the starting point, so that I think again and submit other proposals to you. These are our rights with respect to you, a division of rights. And we will not confuse them, we will stand firmly on the provisions of the constitution. I do not want to deprive you of your rights (indeed, it will not work if I were to interfere with you in the performance of your own role), but, I ask you to treat my authority with respect in the exact same fashion. I think that I should have made this clarification, comrades, and this does not place anyone in a complicated situation, rather, on the contrary, it clarifies the situation. This is the first thing.

Second. Has my opinion changed or not changed as a result of this discussion with respect to the proposal expressed by me regarding Comrade Kolbin? It has not changed, comrades! It has not changed! And the last deputy from Uzbekistan spoke correctly about this. The situation does exist (and we have encountered it and have been encountering it recently), when a person manages to present his own thoughts in a more educated fashion and in a good form. And, in general, we should welcome this gift and encourage it. If this is also combined with the fact that the person is capable of handling the matters, carrying out important constructive work and of bringing people together—this is twice as valuable and very important. Therefore, I would like to say so. I also listened to all of Gennadiy Vasilyevich's answers, without interfering in this process. Here and there, these answers were clumsy and, in his place, I would not have answered certain questions, because he still needs to examine these matters thoroughly. But, as an energetic person (and this is just the kind of person Kolbin is), he believes that it is necessary to answer immediately, on the run, these questions. Previous comrades, who are sitting right here, they, I saw, behaved otherwise. In one instance, where it was clear what should be said—they said so. There, where it was not clear, they appealed to you and to themselves and to others: They said, it is necessary to study. This was not enough for Gennadiy Vasilyevich. But this does not remove, comrades, Comrade Kolbin's chief qualities. Political qualities. Experience, his great diligence and responsibility. This does not take away the fact that this person, in his own style of working, is very open to the people and close to them and that he is not indifferent to the life of the people, rather, on the contrary... He is experiencing it together with them. We have seen him everywhere. Incidentally, in Sverdlovsk (I talked with the people of Sverslovsk) and in Georgia, I know the opinion in Kazakhstan as well—the comrades took the floor here, and they have a good opinion of him in Ulyanovsk also. We have seen him at work. This is a person who immediately grasped the policy of restructuring and, here and there, even used breakthrough methods. I tell you that this also does not impede, because, while our restructuring is in the initial stage, such people are appearing even here, people who are not ordinary and sometimes even aggressive. I regard Comrade Yeltsin as being one of those people, who does not always act tactfully. By no means, I would say. But his does not invalidate him as a person. All the more so, since we have to overcome large obstacles and barriers. Therefore, comrades, I will tell you straight out that, perhaps, I share the dissatisfaction with the answers, but it is precisely because of this certain dissatisfaction, the comrades wanted to offer something unsuitable... This is their opinion and I am not faulting them, I am simply discussing it. But, all the same, I would take as the main criterion during the evaluation of whether or not Comrade Kolbin should be chairman of the Committee for People's Control the sum total of his entire life and his present position. This is a mature person, who can be relied upon, a progressive person, a proponent of restructuring and a proponent of decisive methods for overcoming and eliminating shortcomings. He has these qualities and, I am convinced, we can rely on him. Comrades, I ask you, as the person who introduced this proposal and, after the discussion (I think it has been useful to all of us and to Comrade Kolbin), I would ask you to support my proposal. We, I respect you and I say this sincerely, will not be making a mistake. Do not let yourselves form an opinion, I would not want this very much, that would create some kind of lack of trust in your attitude toward me: Well, here we have it, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet stands like a pile of cement in this matter. He can not go this way or that! No, no! The fact is that these proposals are not that simple that I, as they say, am comfortable with them and I will introduce them. I clashed with Comrade Kolbin even at the time when he became the first secretary in Ulyanovsk and first secretary of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee. Here I saw things closer up and understood him and I followed his work. Therefore, I have serious motives for putting forward this proposal. This is what I believed was necessary to tell you. Comrade Oleynik?

**V.I. Oleynik**, poet and secretary of the board of the Ukrainian SSR Union of Writers, Kiev (From the Communist Party of the Soviet Union): Mikhail Sergeyevich, I do not want to play up to you, but, for some reason, I was surprised that, during the process of the discussion of the nomination, one interesting detail about Kolbin was not mentioned. For me, as a representative of the Soviet of Nationalities, a very important role is played in the characterization of a person by the fact that Kolbin, during his stay in Georgia, studied the Georgian language. While working in Kazakhstan, he undertook the study of the Kazakh language. It seems to me that this is very important in our multi-ethnic society. (Applause).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Turn on the microphone, please. Please!

**N.N. Koryugin**, chief of the Economic Research Laboratory of the the 50th Anniversary of the USSR Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine, Cherepovets (the Cherepovetskiy Territorial Electoral District, Vologda Oblast): Esteemed chairman! I am introducing a proposal. We respect your opinion very much, but I am introducing a

proposal: The voting should be conducted in this manner. I think that it will reflect more correctly the opinion of the Supreme Soviet.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Please, Comrade Burlatskiy.

**F.M. Burlatskiy**, political reviewer for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, Moscow (From the Soviet Peace Fund jointly with the eight Soviet committees which promote peace, solidarity and international cooperation): Comrade deputies! Our parliament is taking the first steps and we need to be guided by that experience and take into consideration that experience which we see in international practice. Do you know, for example, how the formation of the "team" occurs in the United States of America? There, the president nominates a candidate and he always nominates one candidate. This is his right. But the proposal which someone introduced here—to put this question on a choice-in-the-vote basis—this deprives the president of his right and violates the constitutional principle. This is quite clear for presidential practice in any country. Another matter is the discussion. Comments may be expressed and various opinions may be expressed, but all of this goes back to the president—if we call Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev the president and have entrusted to him this role. Therefore, I wanted to come out against the alternative-type of vote.

With regard to Comrade Kolbin: I do not know Comrade Kolbin very well, although I, too, have followed his biography. Here, when he spoke, he personally gave me the impression of a humane and decent person. Humane—this is very important in this position. Of course, there are two factors which are a little disturbing: He is still not very competent in this work and the other factor is age. I think that, during the voting, each person has the right to take these factors into consideration. But, personally, I am prepared to rely on the opinion expressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and to support this opinion.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. Shall we vote? Well, fine, one more speaker and, at this point, we shall finish.

**P.I. Mostovoy**, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, Kiev (The Leninskiy Territorial Electoral District, Voroshilovgrad Oblast): Esteemed comrade deputies, I think that we today, on one hand, are confirming democracy and, on the other, our president... we are driving him into a corner and saying: Give us another candidate. In my opinion, this is not tactful.

I will also say: I know Comrade Kolbin from how he works. Even from Sverdlovsk. I was secretary of the Donetsk Party Obkom and he was secretary of the Sverdlovsk Party Obkom.... I also know Comrade Yeltsin. Comrade Yeltsin came to me to learn some methods and was with me for 10 days, when he worked as the obkom secretary for construction. I can evaluate both Comrade Yeltsin and Comrade Kolbin. and I give my preference to Comrade Kolbin. I have traced his steps across Georgia, across Ulyanovsk and across Kazakhstan. And we, starting with those problems which were solved during the practical work, met during all these years. I fully and completely support Comrade Kolbin and I believe that there can be no alternative choice and that this is a person who, at this stage, will completely carry out that section of the work, especially from the point of view of the democratization of our society by the policy of the Committee for People's Control. Indeed, in recent years, we have not had any large-scale democratization in the Committee for People's Control: such as—a fine of three salaries and they forgot about the family. But Comrade Kolbin is a person who will not be slashing right and left with a sword.

I fully and completely support his nomination and I believe it is necessary to vote and I ask all the deputies to cast their votes for Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kolbin.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Boris Nikolayevich is asking for the floor. Please.

**B.N. Yeltsin**, member of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow (The Moscow City National Territorial Electoral District, RSFSR): In this instance, I should express my own opinion regarding Gennadiy Vasilyevich, inasmuch as we have known each other sing the'50's and worked together for approximately 20 years. Later, our paths separated, but, nevertheless, we were constantly, I would say, comrades and friends. In general, I know him very vell. I believe that he is a person both politically and from the point of view of his own experience, business-like qualities, adherence to principles and attitude toward people who is completely suitable to be entrusted with this position. (Applause).

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrades, let us finish, yes?

**The deputies**: Yes.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: That is it. The last one.

**From the floor**: Boris Nikolayevich anticipated me. They do not suspect that I have known them for 30 years through joint work. Both Boris Nikolayevich and Gennadiy Vasilyevich. But Boris Nikolayevich emphasized this correctly and I can not add anything now, he said it all. I will say only that I know Gennadiy Vasilyevich from Nizhiy Tagil, from the city of Sverdlovsk and, in working on the central staff of the ministry, from the republic of Georgia. He is a person who is highly devoted to the party, a person of high morals, a person, I would say, who is capable of self-sacrifice for the sake of the common state business. And I call on you to vote for Gennadiy Vasilyevich.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine. The discussions are ended. Prior to the vote, a proposal was submitted about how to vote. We have it written down that only the chairman of the

USSR Supreme Soviet is elected by secret ballot. All the rest are at the discretion of the Supreme Soviet. Therefore, all the same, I should put to a vote the proposal regarding the conducting of a secret ballot.

**A voice from the hall**: The first is open.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Fine, I stand corrected, the first proposal is to conduct an open ballot and the second is the secret ballot.

Those in favor of conducting an open ballot. Please lower them. Those opposed? Please lower them. Those abstaining? The overwhelming majority is for an open ballot.

Comrades, thus, I put the question to a vote. I ask those in favor of electing Comrade Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kolbin chairman of the Committee for People's Control to vote. Please lower them. Those opposed?

There were two recorders, Comrades Lukyanov and Nishanov—34 against. Please lower them. Those abstaining?... I see comrades who have raised certificates, are these members of the Supreme Soviet or guests? Members? They forgot their cards? We remind you... Thus, comrades, of the 509 people here present, 34 voted against and 53 abstained.

Comrade Kolbin is elected chairman of the Committee for People's Control. (Applause).

**From the floor**: Esteemed comrade deputies of the Supreme Soviet! I ask that, in the future, you do not set people against one another. I am very sorry that, just like at the congress, here the person of Yeltsin has been set against another and so on. This must not be done.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrades, I think we are obligated to take a recess now until 1600 hours. Comrades, excuse me, could I ask you to sit for 3 minutes. A group of deputies went to Chelyabinsk Oblast to the accident site and they would like, they consider it their duty to report to you about the trip over the course of the 3 minutes.

**S.Ya. Naumov**, chairman of the Marxist Kolkhoz, Argayashskiy Rayon, Chelyabinsk Oblast (the Kyshtymskiy Territorial Electoral District, Chelyabinsk Oblast): Esteemed comrade people's deputies and members of the Supreme Soviet! We, the representatives of the delegation of USSR People's Deputies for Chelyabinsk Oblast—Aleksandr Nikolayevich Penyagin, Andrey Vladimirovich Logeyko and I—went ourselves to Chelyabinsk in order to find out about the site and what happened there and, purely in a humane fashion, to express our condolences and offer consolation to the relatives and families of those who died and to understand all the bitterness of the losses. We became familiar with the organization of the work on eliminating the consequences of the accident and the rendering of aid and we spoke on local radio and television. We attending an evening meeting of the oblast commission of the elimination of the consequences for Chelyabinsk Oblast, which is headed up by the chairman of the oblispolkom, Boris Mikhaylovich Isayev. This meeting was a difficult one. Involved in the work was the entire leadership of the oblast organizations and departments. We saw with our own eyes how the work has been organized and how the reception and placement of the injured and relatives are being done and we visited the Chelyabinsk Oblast burn center. We met with the injured. The impressions are very grim and I can not convey them by words. We met with the specialists, the doctors and the leaders. In addition to what is being done in Chelyabinsk by the local authorities, the cities of our country are rendering very important rapid assistance—highly skilled doctors, specialists, medications, equipment and money. The first ones to respond to this tragedy were the specialists from the city of Yerevan and they arrived with their own equipment.

We saw with our own eyes the consequences of that terrible tragedy. During the preceding break, we already conveyed the request of the people from Chelyabinsk and now, in using this opportunity, I once again ask Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov to render rapid assistance in securing clinotrons from the Kamern firm (France) in the amount of at least 10 of them. We promised to convey this request. The leaders of the English firm Arbital, who have business contacts with the people of Chelyabinsk, have offered free help with medicine and equipment, and the leadership of the Chelyabinsk Oblispolkom would like to request that our Ministry of Foreign Affairs to help in this matter. I am not dramatizing the events, but people are continuing to die every day. I remind you once more: The account for help in the Zhilsotsbank is 700996.

Esteemed comrade people's deputies, a state commission is working on the elimination of the consequences of the accident. There is no doubt that the true reasons for this tragedy will be established. But there is a difficult question: Why, in recent years, is our country shuddering from such strange blows? The country is grieving, Mikhail Sergeyevich said on 5 June, over the fact that there is frequently an irresponsible attitude on the part of individual officials toward their official duties. Laxity and irresponsibility. Comrade people's deputies, I call on all of you in your own places and in your own industrial sectors to intensify responsibility and demand during the performance of your official duties. I am absolutely convinced: The success of restructuring will be ensured only by the strictest demand, discipline and order everywhere and then there will be no more days of mourning.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: Comrades, permit me to thank the deputies for their initiative and very humane activities, to accept the information which they have reported and to request Nikolay Ivanovich, with regard to specific

questions pertaining to saving the lives of people, to give instructions immediately and to do everything which is necessary. This, I think, will be done.

**From the floor**: Please forgive me, I, essentially, want to say something not on the subject. A lot of thanks to the comrades who were there. But I would like to dispute the thesis—the call for the responsibility of officials. Comrades, we can not build the safety of our country and our people on whether or not one or another comrade is responsible or irresponsible. In the end, we are all people and each has a state of health and a nervous system. In technology, there is a term "fool proof" [preceeding word in English]—"durakoustoychivost." We should, as the legislative organ, adopt all measures for "foolproofing" all the systems which may threaten the health of the people and the safety of our country—that is, this is what we have been talking about since the very first day—procedures and regulations. We should think through each system both in our Supreme Soviet and in the congress, in order to ensure "foolproofing." We should not depend on the good will, on the state of health, on the honesty and trustworthiness of an individual person. This is what I want to call on you to do.

**M.S. Gorbachev**: A recess until 1600 is declared.